

POETRY, POLITICS AND POLEMICS

ORIENTATIONS

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POETRY, POLITICS AND POLEMICS

CULTURAL TRANSFER BETWEEN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA AND NORTH AFRICA

*Edited by
Otto Zwartjes,
Geert Jan van Gelder
and Ed de Moor*



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INTRODUCTION AND PRESENTATION

BY

OTTO ZWARTJES
University of Nijmegen

It is an established historical fact that both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar formed a cultural unity in many different periods. Already in the last two centuries of the second millennium before Christ, the coasts of the Western Mediterranean Sea formed an integral part of the Phoenician and Cartaginian thalassocracy. In Roman times, during the reign of the Emperor Diocletian, the Moroccan territories even were attached to *Hispania*. However, the process of Romanization was limited to the coasts of the Maghreb; the inlands of North Africa were never romanized, with some exceptions such as Volubilis. In *Hispania*, the process of Romanization reached the inlands of the Baetica (Guadalquivir) and the Ebro valleys; the inlands and the coasts of the Asturians, Cantabrians and Basques have been romanized relatively late.

Nor did the Byzantines, in their attempts to reconstruct the Roman Empire by attacking and occupying Germanic kingdoms, such as the Vandal kingdom and south-eastern Visigothic *Hispania*, succeed in conquering the inlands of both sides of the Straits. After the military success of Mûsâ ibn Nuşayr, Islam brought unity to Arabs and many Berber tribes of the Maghrib, but the struggle for independence and the adoption of the eastern *Khârijî* doctrine always caused unrest in the Maghrib. The Maghrib was islamized more by the rulers of the Idrîsid dynasty than by Arab conquerors. When the Muslims conquered the Iberian Peninsula, the discord between Arabs and Berbers never disappeared and the conflict between them, which originated in the Maghrib, was to be continued in al-Andalus. It is a well-known fact that the contingent of Berbers among the Muslims of al-Andalus considerably outnumbered the inhabitants of Arab origin, in most cases from Syria and Iraq.

The Maghrib came under the tutelage of the Umayyads of al-Andalus as a direct consequence of their rivalry with the Fâtîmids in Ifrîqiya. The Umayyads never succeeded in eliminating local rebellions against their rule, as the successful actions of Zîrî ibn ʿAtîyya in Fâs demonstrate. During the ʿÂmirid dictatorship in al-Andalus, in particular during the 'reign' of the chamberlain Ibn Abî ʿÂmir, known as al-Manşûr (Spanish: Almanzor, 978-1002), many Berbers crossed the Straits to al-Andalus. After the abdication

of the Umayyad caliph Hishâm II, six different Umayyads and three Ḥammûdid members of a half-Berber dynasty ruled the Caliphate. After the decline and collapse of the Umayyads and Ḥammûdids in al-Andalus, various Berber dynasties seized power and founded many different kingdoms (Taifas, from Arabic *mulûk al-ṭawâ'if*). Andalusî culture flourished during the petty kings and this culture absorbed other communities, Christian, Berber, Slav,¹ which can be demonstrated by the fact that Arabic became the most important language of the Iberian Peninsula under Muslim rule. On the other hand, large numbers of Andalusîs emigrated to the Maghrib in many different periods. Already in the first centuries of Islamic Spain, many Andalusîs settled in North Africa. These Andalusîs fled as a consequence of the drought (749), or were expelled for having conspired against the regime (e.g. the rebellion against al-Ḥakam II in 814).

The coexistence of North African Arab, and later Andalusî cultures, had been disrupted by the expansion of North African Berber tribes from the Sahara, the Almoravids. These tribes first subjugated the local principalities in the Maghrib and later overthrew the petty Kingdoms in al-Andalus. When these tribes from the desert came into contact with Andalusî civilization and soon they lost their rigid orthodoxy and many aspects of their Berber culture disappeared. The Almoravids not only established the union of the Maghrib and al-Andalus; under their rule, Andalusî civilization was imported to the Maghrib. Many Andalusî scholars, public servants and artists lived and worked on both sides of the Straits. Even in al-Andalus, the Berber rulers, such as Yûsuf ibn Tâshufîn, employed Arab officials, who had worked earlier under the Arab Taifa Kingdoms.

Another Berber dynasty from the south of Morocco, the Almohads, took the Almoravid city of Marrakech and founded an empire in North Africa; then they took over the Almoravid possessions in al-Andalus, as a logical consequence of their imperialism. One of the most important contributions of the Almohads is the fact that under their rule and patronage the two great Andalusî philosophers Ibn Ṭufayl (1105-1185) and Ibn Rushd (1126-1198) flourished, not only in al-Andalus, but in particular in the city of Marrakech. The Christian offensive caused the collapse of the Almohad empire in al-Andalus and many Andalusîs were forced to leave the Peninsula. During the reign of the Berber dynasty of the Marînids, who replaced the Almohads in the Maghrib, Andalusî culture flourished considerably. Many Andalusîs worked at their court and the university of al-Qarawiyyîn

1 The term 'Slav' is used here for those who came from Europe. Many of them, but not all, were of Slavonic origin.

at Fâs attracted many scholars who had been exiled from the Iberian Peninsula. The menace of the Christians during the *Reconquista* had already forced many Muslims to leave the Peninsula, when finally the Catholic Kings Ferdinand and Isabella initiated the total liquidation of the Naşrid kingdom of Granada. Andalusí culture survived among the Mudejars (Spanish: *mudéjares*, or Muslims living in Christian territory as a protected minority) but declined among the Moriscos ('New Christians' of Muslim origin) in sixteenth-century Spain, until the final decision by Philip III to expel all the *moriscos* during the years 1609-1614. Andalusí culture was to survive among immigrants from Spain in the Maghrib and in the Ottoman Empire.

This fourth issue of *Orientations* focuses on some aspects of the 'cultural transfer between al-Andalus and North Africa.' As we demonstrated, mutual migrations and political unity led to the exchange of many cultural phenomena between the two sides of the Straits. In this volume, the following issues are dealt with, arranged thematically:

Poetry: Arie Schippers' article (University of Amsterdam) deals with a poem of Ibn Khafâja (1058-1139), one of the great Andalusí poets, who spent the first part of his life in the neighbourhood of Valencia on his estate during the Taifa period. Ibn Khafâja composed laudatory poetry on the Almoravids. Some historians state that Ibn Khafâja fled to Morocco because of the disturbances in the surroundings of Valencia caused by the Christian troops of El Cid. The two opening poems in his *Dîwân* were written in North Africa, the first in Tilimsân [Tlemcen], and the second on the Moroccan side [*ʿudwa*] of the Straits of Gibraltar, addressed to two members of the Almoravid clan. In his article, Arie Schippers deals with poem no. 1 of Ibn Khafâja's *Dîwân*. For the first time in his career, Ibn Khafâja uses laudatory themes in connection with real princes.

Otto Zwartjes' article (University of Nijmegen) deals with Andalusí strophic poetry and its diffusion in al-Andalus and the Maghrib. Special attention is paid to the tension between Arab urban secular culture in al-Andalus and orthodox Almoravid Islamic culture, as reflected in Andalusí strophic poetry. Although the Berber newcomers tried to transform Andalusí culture, they welcomed *tawshîh* poetry at their courts.

Th. M. Wijntjes (Naarden) publishes a manuscript version of a poem concerning the *jihâd* of ʿAlî al-Sharîf in al-Andalus; a version that is longer than the one known from al-Ifrânî's *Nuzhat al-hâdî*. Her research leads to the thesis that the events described did not take place in the first half of the 9th/15th century, but rather in the third quarter of the 7th/13th century. This was a period of change both in Morocco and in al-Andalus following the es-

establishment of the Marînid and Naşrid dynasties respectively. In al-Andalus the treaties concluded with Alfonso X el Sabio, resulted in the loss of many fortified places.

Politics: Two articles, both in French, concern political questions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Fernando Rodríguez Mediano (CSIC, Madrid) adds important information about the political crises in Fâs. His article deals with the importance of the Andalusi *‘ulamâ’* in Fâs and their role and function in the profound socio-political transformation of Morocco in the beginning of ‘Modern History’. Special attention is paid to the institutionalisation of the *shurafâ’* and the consolidation of the *zâwiyas* in Fâs and the confrontation between the Andalusiyyûn and the Lamtiyyûn in this city, i.e. a conflict between Berbers and Andalusis. This crisis comes to an end when Mûlây al-Rashîd conquers the city in 1666 which marks the end of the ^cAlawite dynasty and the beginning of the Sa^cids with Marrakech as their capital.

The last decades of the fifteenth century saw a total fragmentation of power in the Maghrib. Tripoli, Bougie and Constantine became independent from Tunis and in Morocco the aristocracies of Fâs and Marrakech were in struggle, while the Banû Hilâl in the Dra^c valley were autonomous. This weak position stimulated the Spanish and the Portuguese to continue their crusade after the fall of Granada in 1492. The Spanish, in particular Pedro Navarro, tried to accelerate the process of disintegration by supporting several autonomous leaders in their struggle against Tlemcen. The Portuguese did the same in the region of Marrakech by arming Yaḥyâ ibn Ta^cfûft in his conflict with al-Hintâtî. Ahmed Sabir (Université d’ Agadir) provides a survey of the occupation of Santa Cruz de Aguer (Agadir) by the Portuguese colonists in the first half of the sixteenth century. The Portuguese controlled almost the entire Atlantic coast. Santa Cruz, together with Mazagan and Tît, was the most important settlement on the Atlantic coast and formed an important chain in their commercial and imperial activities in Africa.

Polemics: The subject of Gerard Wiegers’ article is a polemical work by a Muslim author of Spanish descent, Muḥammad Alguazir, the only text of this kind in Spanish to have been written at the instance of the Moroccan Sultan Mawlây Zaydân (1608-1627). The author deals with the historical background, the extant manuscripts and the contents of the work, paying particular attention to a manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (MS Arch. Selden B 8), which contains a Latin translation of this text with other associated material. A Spanish version was sent to Prince Maurice, the

Dutch stadtholder, in the light of the diplomatic relations between the Netherlands and Morocco.

Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegers' article concerns the introduction, translation, and publication of the Arabic text of a privately owned undated Arabic manuscript from a village near the Moroccan city of Tetuan. This new manuscript, probably from the 16th century, was possibly brought to North Africa by some Morisco immigrant during the 16th or early 17th century. It deals with questions referring to the position of Mudejar minorities living in Christian Spain which were posed – perhaps by the Egyptian Sultan – to the four leading legal specialists in Egypt, a few years before the Ottoman conquest. This article casts new light on the legal discussions in Mamluk Egypt concerning the Islamic statute of the Spanish Mudejars. The geographical origin of the questions was undoubtedly Mudejar Valencia or Aragon. The answers of the Chief Judges can be related to the policy of Mamluk Egypt of non-intervention in Spain in search for assistance against the common enemy, the Ottoman State.

Transcription:

b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, ʿ, gh, f, q, k, l, m, n, h, w, y.

Initial *hamza* is not transcribed

Article: al- (even before 'solar' consonants, and l- after words ending on a vowel)

Long vowels: â, î, û

Diphthongs: ay, aw

IBN KHAFÂJA (1058-1139) IN MOROCCO

ANALYSIS OF A LAUDATORY POEM ADDRESSED TO A MEMBER OF THE ALMORAVID CLAN

BY

ARIE SCHIPPERS
University of Amsterdam

This paper deals with a poetic result of the connections between Morocco and al-Andalus as testified by the poetry of Ibn Khafâja. Born in 1058, Ibn Khafâja passed the first part of his life under the *mulûk al-tawâ'if*, the kings of the petty states, who ruled Muslim Spain at the time. He led a quiet life in the neighbourhood of Valencia on his estate. Like many other poets in world literature, Ibn Khafâja composed frivolous poetry during his youth. His subjects ranged from witty love and drinking to garden poems. However, according to the poet's own account, the love adventures with young boys and girls described in his poems were afterwards considered as not based on real experience. After all, as he himself said later in life, poetry consists of lies only.¹ But even in the poetry of his old age these themes of love for young boys or young girls emerge, together with a sense of regret at lost youth.

According to his own account, Ibn Khafâja ceased writing poetry during a certain time. However, he was encouraged by the Almoravids to return to his poetry. When he did, his work focussed primarily on laudatory poetry on the Almoravids and their entourage.² This dynasty, which gathered its forces in Morocco sometime around 1090 from Morocco to launch an invasion into Muslim Spain after petty Muslim monarchs failed to deal effectively with the Christian powers in the North of Spain, was initially led by Yûsuf ibn Tâshufîn, a rude Barbarian who knew no Arabic, let alone the subtleties of Arabic poetry.³ Thus the involvement of Ibn Khafâja with the 'Moroccan' dynasty started only with Yûsuf's more refined sons, who had an interest in Arabic poetry and could understand it. The next Almoravid ruler, ʿAlî ibn Yûsuf ibn Tâshufîn, was not the uncouth desert man his

1 Cf. *Dîwân*, ed. S.M. Ghâzî, pp. 10-11 (preface of the poet).

2 *Ibidem*, p. 7 (preface of the poet).

3 Cf. al-Maqqarî, *Nafh al-Tib*, IV, p. 355 (*lâ yaʿrif bi-l-lisân al-ʿarabî*). But Harry Norris, *The Berbers*, pp. 139-141 does not believe this.

father was. His mother had been a Christian slave girl, and he himself felt more Andalusian and had a refined peninsular education.⁴ He even transferred the capital of the Almoravids from Morocco to Seville.⁵

The period of Ibn Khafâja's first contacts with the Almoravid clan and surroundings may have been around the year 1100.⁶ Some have suggested that he fled to Morocco because of the disturbances in the surroundings of Valencia caused by the Christian troops of El Cid. He is also believed to have solicited the help from the Almoravid princes and governors to put an end to that instability and to safeguard his estates in the neighbourhood of Valencia.⁷ According to some sources, during the Almoravids, Ibn Khafajah had reason to fear some of the lower governors of this ruling clan, who tried to levy too many taxes and take away his livelihood.⁸

Ibn Khafâja arranged his *Dîwân* himself at the age of 64⁹ in his own idiosyncratic way not chronologically or alphabetically, rather his arrangement falls in the *adab* ideal of variation, i.e. not totally devoid of organization, but loosely ordered according to groups and topics. Ibn Khafajah promised to arrange his *Dîwân* into alphabetical order later, which he apparently did.¹⁰ Since he died at the age of 81, there are poems in the later version which could not have appeared in the first edition.

Be that as it may, the two opening poems in his *Dîwân*¹¹ were written in Morocco and addressed to two members of the Almoravid clan. In the first poem, Ibn Khafâja requests the intervention and mediation of the Highest Commander (*al-Qâ'id al-A'âlâ*) Abû 'Abd Allâh Muḥammad Ibn 'Â'isha in certain matters. Ibn 'Â'isha was also a son of Yûsuf ibn Tâshufîn, not to be confused with Ibn Khafâja's contemporary poet of the same name.¹² In the second poem, he asks the addressee to convey his gratitude to the Highest Commander because of intervention in the case of some of his domains. Ibn Khafâja owned a vast amount of property near Alcira on the river Júcar. But at this time, he was in exile in Morocco.

4 Hajjâjî, p. 100.

5 Monroe, p. 33.

6 Hajjâjî, p. 100.

7 Jayyusi, 'The Rise', p. 379.

8 Hajjâjî, p. 100.

9 Cf. *Dîwân*, ed. S.M. Ghâzî, p. VI (preface of the editor).

10 Cf. *Dîwân*, ed. S.M. Ghâzî, p. 11 (preface of the poet); see for this *Dîwân*, Ms. Leiden.

11 Cf. *Dîwân*, ed. S.M. Ghâzî, pp. 23-39.

12 Cf. *Dîwân*, ed. S.M. Ghâzî, p. 438 and 443 (by the editor).

What was the reason for that exile? Was he waiting until the troubles around Valencia came to an end? And was he therefore interfering with the Highest Commander, who, as a general, could ensure the safety of his property near Valencia? The first two poems by Ibn Khafāja were both written in North Africa, the first one in Tilimsān [Tlemcen], and the second one on the Moroccan side [*ʿudwa*] of the Straits of Gibraltar, across from Spain. Strikingly, in both poems the poet requests the mediation of the Almoravid clan. Moreover, the eulogies in the title of both poems make reference to the illness of the High Commander.

In any case, the two poems must have been written around the poet's fiftieth birthday. They are also the first of the laudatory poems on members of the Almoravid clan, and belong to the works written after the above mentioned period of silence. Ironically, the Andalusian poet par excellence was in Morocco, and the Almoravid clan, who originally came from Morocco, and even from the further deserts of the Senegal, were becoming increasingly Andalusian and 'civilized'.

The significance of these two poems — in this article I will deal with poem no. 1 of Ibn Khafāja's *Dîwān* — lies in the combination of the motifs. For the first time ever in his career, Ibn Khafāja uses laudatory themes in connection with real princes. And in doing so, he blends in his favourite motifs, love and gardens, the motifs that earned him his nickname of 'the Gardener'.

One characteristic feature of Ibn Khafāja's work is the tendency to merge laudatory poems with pieces of rhymed prose. This practice is also found among certain Spanish Hebrew poets of his time, namely Moses ibn Ezra (1055-1138) and Yehudah ha-Levi (1074-1141).¹³ One could speculate whether this combination of poetry and rhymed prose is limited to the work of these three poets and why. Possibly, Ibn Khafāja and his two Spanish Hebrew fellow poets wrote many of their poem-prose combinations not to real patrons but to friends and equals. Ibn Khafāja was not a real court poet; he did not depend for his livelihood on patrons. So perhaps those prose rhymed letters accompany correspondence poems, poems between equally cultured educated men.

For reasons of brevity, and also because not all of the textual problems of the rhymed prose text have been solved, I will confine myself to an analysis of poem no. 1 without taking into consideration the accompanying letter in rhymed prose. I will seek here to analyze the relations of the different parts of the poem to one another. In this context, I will also investigate the

13 Cf. Arie Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry*.

relationships between the language, motifs and style of the poem and the rest of Ibn Khafāja's oeuvre.

Poem no. 1 bears the following inscription: "He said and wrote [the following poem] to the most glorious *amîr* Abû l-Ṭâhir Tamîm, the son of the 'Prince of the Muslims' and the 'Helper of Religion' — may God support him in his piety! — praising him and asking to speak with the Highest Commander Abû 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Â'isha - may God recover his health!- thanking him for taking care of his affairs and the fact that he reached his aims and purposes with him. He wrote him when he stayed in Tilimsân — may God protect this town!— [the following poem]."

The poem can be divided into two main parts:

- I. a description of the poet's love adventure with a tribal woman;
- II. the encomiastic part on Abû Ṭâhir Tamîm, the son of Yûsuf ibn Tâshufîn [and brother of the later successor 'Âlî ibn Yûsuf].

Part I can be subdivided into six smaller parts:

- lines 1-2: introductory lines at daybreak.
- lines 3-7: nightly love adventure with tribal woman.
- lines 8-13: struggle metaphors indicating tribal obstacles.
- lines 14-18: episode of love making .
- lines 19-21: description of womanly attributes.
- lines 22-26: "pearls in pearls", weeping in poetry about the separation at daybreak.

Part II can be subdivided into ten smaller parts:

- lines 27-28: transition lines.
- lines 29-38: Bravery, Generosity and Success of the Addressee.
- lines 39-40: garden comparisons.
- lines 41-42: horse description.
- lines 43-45: the message of the arms.
- lines 46-49: the black horse.
- lines 50-53: Tamîm's precocious intelligence and moral characteristics.
- lines 54-55: black-white contrasts in metaphors.
- lines 56-61: the addressee as a mediator; the poet could not come in person to him.

lines 62-65: *envoi* of the poem, which is composed at dawn, to Abū l-Ṭāhir [Tamīm].

The first passage of the poem apparently is inspired by the love adventures of the pre-Islamic poet Imru' al-Qays as described in the *mu'allaqah* of the poet. Ibn Khafāja stresses more than once his preference for the impudent love (*al-ḥubb al-mâjin*) over the chaste love (*al-ḥubb al-ʿafif*) practised by some poets, who supposedly belong to the legendary ʿUdhra tribe. Ibn Khafāja is one of the few 'Modern' poets who deliberately refers to the Ancient poetry of the Arabian peninsula, also using often mentioning Arabian place names referring to his youthful love trysts. As a later Andalusian poet, he does not feel the antagonism between the Ancient and the Modern poets as it was felt by earlier 'Modern poets' of al-ʿIrâq, such as Abū Nuwâs. Although Ibn Khafāja is modern in the sense that he uses 'Modern' rhetorical *badiʿ* style, he integrates this style ideologically with the Ancient Arabian motifs, to which poets such as Abū Nuwâs were so opposed in their time.

The two introductory lines of Ibn Khafāja's first poem describe daybreak which has come after the nightly love adventures of the poet:

1. Verily, by the garden turning its face from the blueness of the river! And by the neck of the branch towering amidst of the ornaments of the blossoms!
2. Because the breeze of the South wind had already blown gently and roused from sleep the eyes of the boon companions under the red and fragrant flower of daybreak.

The nightly love adventure was obviously a dangerous one because the lover had to cross the boundaries of the tribe of the beloved and to get to her unseen. The poet starts this description in lines 3-7:

3. Many a maiden's apartment I came to at night, and only I made the dove's nest permitted to the falcon.
4. And from many a body I took the mantle, and I revealed there the lines from the secret of the paper roll.
5. I crossed every narrow pass in order to arrive within the tribe [of the beloved], where the eagle of heaven was hovering around a nest (i.e. a highly inaccessible place).
6. I waded through the darkness of the night which became black as a piece of charcoal and I trampled upon a lion's den when it [=the lion] looked with burning coals.

7. And I came at the dwellings of the tribe while the night remained silent with cast down eyes, streaked in the garment of [its] horizon by the bright stars.

The next passage belongs to the poet's approach of the beloved's tribe, but the metaphors which he uses are borrowed from war and horse descriptions: the poet mentions the lightning of the iron [swords], the edges of the brown spears, a straight lance above a breastplate, a red horse with a blaze, a sudden attack, dust and a blood-stained red sword. The lightning and the stars seem to be jealous of the poet-lover. The comparison of the red horse with its blaze to red wine and bubbles is a popular one in the poet's oeuvre. The poet likes colour-based metaphores. This also becomes manifest in line 12 where the identifying genitive metaphore is used to equate woman's black hair with the black dust of the struggle and the sword covered with red blood with the red cheek of the beloved. I quote lines 8-13:

8. I forecast¹⁴ there the lightning of the iron and many a time I stumbled upon the tips of the brown spears.
9. But I did not meet anything other than a straight lance above a breastplate, so I said: it is a branch which overlooks a river.
10. I did not look out but for a blaze of a horse above a reddish colour, so I said: water-bubbles which are round-shaped, turning around on wine.
11. And before the nightly visit to the tribe there was the wading through a sudden Attack, one of yellow-coloured breast-plate, of bleeding claws.
12. [Gazing attentively] in a black hair of the dust, and unveiling a red cheek of a sword.
13. So that I moved on and the heart of the lightning beat out of jealousy there and the eye of the star looked askance.

After this the poet continues describing his love-adventure (lines 14-18). Like Imru' al-Qays he speaks to the frightened woman and kisses of her 'what is between face and neck', a typical Ibn-Khafājīan mode of expression, which we see elsewhere in his poetry.

14. And the wing of ardent love flew me to her and a wing of fright flew her away from me.

14 The word can also mean: unsheathed; literally 'I came there.... in order to forecast'.
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15. I said: 'Gently, do not be frightened, because the ribs of the night will conceal our secret [rendez vous].'
16. I calmed a frightened soul which was excited, and I wiped off [her fear] from a shoulder, which turned aside, swaying from one side to another.
17. And I tore to pieces the collar of the night's shirt from her and I lifted up the wing [= side] of the veil from the woman of the maiden's apartment.
18. And I kissed what was between face and neck, and I embraced what was between collarbones and waist.

The following three lines are a description of the beloved woman. Line 19 describes the supple body of the young woman who is drunken with youth and love. The inclination of her body makes her jewels give a sound. The parallelism in line 20 is typical for Ibn Khafāja and Andalusian poetry in general in which dividing lines into symmetrical parts becomes more and more fashionable. The redness of her lips in combination with the whiteness of her teeth is again compared with bubbling red wine just as the red horse in line 10. Her precious mantle and her bright face are compared with moon and stars in line 21.

19. And the rhythmic sound of the womanly ornaments sang from a bamboo which the wind of youth and drunkenness caused to incline.
20. A maiden who looked like a gazelle because of her glances, like a white antelope because of her neck, like wine because of the redness of her lips and like white bubbles because of her splendid teeth.
21. Reeling in an embroidered gilded cloth as if the splendid stars were entangled together with the full moon.

The poet then compares the scattered pearls of his tears with the arranged pearls of his poetry (line 22). Then he describes how dawn and morning light put an end to his love rendez vous. The morning star is described from behind the curtain of a cloud:

22. My love lyrics for her and my tears came together: pearls arranged on a string and scattered pearls.
23. The hand of love had clothed us at night with the cloth of an embracement, which the hand of dawn tore to pieces.

24. And when the morning light revealed itself, like a greyness which appeared on the temple of the night, quite a danger;
25. And was put down the mantle of the clouds from the shoulder of the East wind, and the breath of the flowers diffused its perfume over the tail of the darkness,
26. I shrank away and before the morning star was the curtain of a cloud which was transparent like the charcoal is transparent from behind ashes.

This harks back to the opening passage in which daybreak was announced. The poem now goes on with the transitional passage. The love adventure at al-Thawiyyah (an Arabian placename) is of the same greatness as the hand of the noble Prince who is praised by the poet. The hand symbolizes force and generous gifts. The single word expresses the two virtues of a king: courage and generosity. In line 28, it is the hand who holds the sword. The formula of the general negation at the beginning of the line is a typical Ibn-Khafājian feature which also occurs elsewhere:

27. There is no night like the moonlit one at al-Thawiyyah, in which drunkenness respired from a gust of gratitude.
28. There is no hand like the generous one belonging to the Commander, in which the sword laughs splendidly from the mouth of Victory.

The next few lines sing praises of the Prince as a man of war. Line 34 combines bravery with generosity. Numerous words convey a sense of the uplifted in the next passage: God, Good Fame, Good Mention, Glorious Lofty Sword, Eagle of Victory, etc.. The reddish Nights and clothes in lines 35 and 36 are apparently caused by the bloodshed of the Prince's Rash Action.

29. He set about going on [penetrating] with [the Sword] so that it slit as if a comet was broken by it or a divine decree was ordained.
30. How excellent, this sword which is carried and he who carries the sword, who is far reaching in the field of Voice and Good Fame and Good Mention.
31. The longings seek shelter in him, as if in a most Glorious Lofty Sword, a polished Sword of fine workmanship of Praise and Glory and Joyful Countenance....
32. And in his Bright Standard, which was made victorious: when he makes a nightly journey, the Eagle of Victory gives shade over the wings of the vulture.

33. On him is an Oath that his Right Hand is abundant and that the Sword does not lower an eyelid when it comes to retaliation.
34. He rises like the swelling of the sea in peace time and war, by the Generosity of the Noble Hand and the Rash Unprecedented Action;
35. Rash Action drives him, if he were to compete with Time, then the black Nights would be considered red because of him.
36. And he has a Decisiveness that renders a lofty mountain into rubble and a Courage that lashes the whips¹⁵ of the brown spears into the red clothes.
37. And [he has] a splendid Face visible through its transparent veil,¹⁶ as if the flowing clouds show by their transparence the full moon.
38. When a surprising beauty, Courage covers him with an ample coat of mail, a Crescent of him shows itself, rising out of a sea.

In the following two lines Ibn Khafâja sets his garden imagery into motion, yet maintains a vivid sense of colour: the blue lance tips are like white blossoms, the banners are green leaves.

39. He travelled at night between a blossom [white flower] of the blue lance tips, sharp ones, and green leaves of his banners;
40. Every banner shook its side towards him: it shook upon him the bough with the green foliage.

Colour is also applied to other images: the red horse with white fetlocks is described as a combination of gold and silver, racing towards the Prince, in its yearning, as though it were running faster than the East wind. The wind is bridled by the horse and it boils higher than the sea on the land because the boiling sea is like padding for his horse saddle.

41. Every reddish bay with white legs is yearning towards him: as if some silver has flowed on gold.

15 Or: 'shakes the bodies of the brown spears' (alternative translation provided by Geert Jan van Gelder, Groningen).

16 The Almoravid warriors originated from Berber *Ṣinhâja*-subtribes from Western and Central Saharan regions. They wore face-mufflers, covering the mouth and chin (*lithâm*), like the present-day Tuareg. Therefore they were known collectively as *mulaththamûn*. In this line and the next we notice an allusion to this desert custom.

42. And it runs across [the field] so that the East wind is running bridled by it, and the sea boils high rising upon the land like a padding for its saddle.

Then the armour is described as a piece of paper upon which the swords and spears have written their messages. This image is as old as al-Mutanabbî.¹⁷ In peace time this message is folded, in war time its news is spread.

43. And a glossy and bright [armour] bore upon itself a short note of beauty, which the eye never found [before] in a message of good news.
44. The edges [of the swords] wrote the lines of slaying on it and the pricking of the straightened brown lances made dotted writing upon it.
45. And the peace treaty folds from it what the battle unfolded whether to keep it as a secret or to spread it.

Then again a horse is described, black as the night with a white blaze [*ghurra*]; the black dust on the white blaze is compared to ink on a piece of paper:

46. And many a blackhorse, which, but for the splendour of its appearance, the eye could not have distinguished from the night of separation,...
47. Long in mane's hair and neck and skull-bone, short in its tail's bone and ear and back,....
48. It has a Bright Blaze [*ghurra*] who chooses Victory as a friend, who in your eyes outshines all ten times in the Rank of Beauty.¹⁸
49. Truly, by the dispersion of dust from [this horse] like a sheet of paper! On that sheet the ink pleases in beauty.

Then a straightforward mention of the praised person by his name Tamîm occurs. This son of Yûsuf ibn Tâshufîn was already mature during his childhood. He is also sensible and abundant in generosity. The *puer senex* motif probably derives from elegiac poetry, e.g. al-Mutanabbî's elegy on a young son of Sayf al-Dawla.¹⁹ In the next passage we see how the poet uses the

17 Cf. for this motif: Arie Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry*, p. 227.

18 Cf. Koran 6:160; in this connection, Prof. Dmitry Frolov (University of Moscow) also kindly drew my attention to Koran 11: 13.

19 Cf. for this motif: Arie Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry*, p. 274.

word *ghurra* again, but in a totally different context. This use of this word twice is, of course, no coincidence. The poet uses the word as a unifying device in his poem, just as he uses his colour-based metaphors throughout the poem, metaphors of horses and white pieces of paper with black lines.

50. In his childhood Tamîm had already attained the authority of mature age and the fullness of his full moon was already accomplished in the new moon [*ghurra*] of the month.
51. And even the kings — noble though they may be — are, next to him, like the place of the [common] nights of fasting [nights of Ramadan] compared to the *Laylat al-qadr* [the night in which the Koran was revealed, 26/27th of Ramadan].
52. He is a sensible man, you never know whether an opinion was bred at night by accident or, like an arrow, was sharpened by intention.
53. A generosity which is abundant, and an intense devotion, divide him: coming respectively from an abundant source and a rugged mountain.

We have already seen some ‘page’ metaphores- very common also in the Spanish Hebrew poetry of the time. This metaphore also occurs in the next two lines, with the usual white-black contrast.

54. He radiates a joy that turns every page to white in every place so that the even the black belongs to the bright.
55. If his right hand were to wipe the face of a night, then it would unveil a moon in the night on its nightly journey.

At this point, the poet asks Tamîm’s intervention with the Highest Commander Ibn ʿĀ’isha:

56. I threw my hopes to him, and I offered them to him as barren pasture lands to the rain.
57. No hope is there other than a letter of intercession: when the heavy load of the important affair makes one tired, it supports me.
58. A mediator, had I implored the mercy of the Time of Youth by means of him, then Youth would have stopped: – may the tear of the raincloud drench this excellent Time! —²⁰

59. On me was the touch of a complaint, because of which I was not able to make the nightly journey, so that when I did not tread the door of the Prince, I have an excuse.
60. And if my eye were filled with darkness then I would fill it with the blaze of the Sun of the Time in the ascendant of the Palace.
61. A man is nothing but his heart, when he travels at night with the party of riders out of yearning, then I will be with the travellers.

The poem ends with the *envoi* or presentation of the poem to Tamîm:

62. Abû l-Tâhir!, accept this poem for you as a greeting, a poem which I composed during my sleeplessness at the beginning of dawn with the splendour of eloquence.
63. I clothed you with the rhymes of it as with a robe of honour. I strung them as a precious necklace together on a neck.
64. Be noble and glorious, and tread under foot the crowns with power and defend and be generous with the spacious court-yard of the kingdom, high of command.
65. And with the eloquent tongue of the Sword, Good Companionship and Generosity, and with the high illuminated place of Power, Good Reputation and Pride.

In order to draw conclusions about the techniques used to achieve unity between the parts of this poem and what the characteristics are of Ibn Khafâja's poetry, especially in this poem — one of his first great encomiastic poems — we have listed and classified typical stylistic features. These include typical vocabulary, colour-based imagery, typical metaphors and descriptions, figures of speech and parallelism in grammatical constructions.²¹

Grammatical parallelism between two parts of the line: lines 1; 9 and 10; 12; 13 [partly]; 14; 16; 18; 20; 27 and 28; 30b, 31b, 47 and 65; 22b and 53b.

The type *lam.... illâ* and *lâ.... illâ*: lines 9, 10, 27, 28 and 57.

last part of this line is by means of an optative. It supports the preference of the poet for the theme of Old Age noticed earlier (see my article on this subject in the annexed bibliography).

21 For personifications and humanizations in the poetry of Ibn Khafâja, see J. C. Bürgel, 'Man, nature and Cosmos'. We do not deal with it here explicitly.

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Conjugation of the verb in the first person singular (mostly Perfect forms): which suggests a narrative in part I of this poem: lines 3 [2x]; 4 [2x]; 5; 6 [2x]; 7; 8 [2x]; 9 [2x]; 10 [2x]; 13; 15; 16 [2x]; 17 [2x]; 18 [2x] and 26.

In part II the first person in the Perfect verb (lines 56, 63 [2x]) is used in alternation with the third person (but not as a verb, but after prepositions: *la-hu, ilayhi*, cf. lines 35; 41, 42) and the second person (cf. at the end: *ilay-ka*: line 62; and the imperatives in lines 62, 64) both referring to the addressee.

Certain [key?] words are repeated (the list is not exhaustive): *ʿayn* (line 13, 46); *bahr* (lines 34, 38, 42); *barq* (line 8, 13); *fatka* (lines 11, 34, 35); *gharrāʾ* (line 34); *ghurr* (line 54); *ghurra* (lines 10, 48, 50, 60); *ḥayy* (lines 5, 7, 11); *janāḥ* (14 [2x], 17, 32); *khalaʿa* (line 4, 23, 64) ; *khidr* (line 3, 17); *layl* (lines 6, 7, 15, 17, 23, 24, 35, 46, 55); *najm* (line 7, 13, 21, 26); *nashr* (line 1, 4; 45; 49); *rawʿ* (lines 16, 38); *ridāʾ* (lines 23, 25); *ṣaḥīfah/ ruqʿa/ ṣafha* (line 4, 43, 49 [2x], 54); *shaffa* (line 26, 37); *shimtu/ ashīmu* (line 8, 10); *silḥ* (line 34, 45); *ṭayy* (line 4, 15, 45); *waghā* (line 34, 45); *yad* (line 23, 34).

Genitive Metaphor: neck of the branch (1); the ornaments of the blossoms (1); the red and fragrant flower of daybreak (2); the streaked garment of [its] horizon (7); black hair of the dust (12); the red cheek of a sword (12); the wing of ardent love (14); the wing of fright (14); the ribs of the night (15); the collar of the night's shirt [torn to pieces] (17); the wind of youth and drunkenness (19); the hand of love (23); the cloth of an embracement (23); the temple [=side of the head] of the night (24); the mantle of the clouds (25); the shoulder of the East Wind (25); the breath of the flowers (25); the tail of darkness (25); the curtain of a cloud (26); a gust of gratitude (27); the [laughing] mouth of Victory (28); the Eagle of Victory (32); a blossom of the blue lance tips (39); the green leaves of the banners (39); the [wiped] face of a night (55); the [un]veil[ing] of the night (55); the [tired] heavy load of the important affair (57); the tear of the rain cloud (58); the blaze of the Sun of Time (60); the ascendant of the Palace (60).

Colour-based imagery: blue (1); black red burning (6); black bright (7); bright brown (8); dark bright [implied] (9); white red (10); dark yellow red (11); black red (12); bright (13); white red white (20); bright gold (21); black grey (23, 24); bright grey (26); bright (27, 28); bright (29); bright black (31, 32); black red (35); brown red (36); bright (37); black white blue green (39); green (40); red white silver gold (41); bright (43); black/red

white (44); black (46); white (48); black white (49); bright (50); black white (lines 54-55); dark bright (60).

Semantic Fields:

A. Garden, Wind, Flowers, and Drinking at Daybreak (lines 1-2) + Garden (line 9b) + Wine (line 10b, 20) + Daybreak (line 25) + Garden comparisons (lines 39-40) + Daybreak (line 62).

B. Scripture, Line, Page (line 4 b) + Scripture, Page (lines 43, 49, 54).

C. Love Adventure (line 3a) + Hair and Cheek: Woman Description (line 12) + Kissing and Embracing a Woman's Body & Description of a Woman's Body (line 18, 19, 20, 21).

D. Falcon and Dove (line 3b) + the Eagle of Victory and the wings of the vulture (line 32).

E. Weaponry (line 8, 9a) + Sword and Dust (line 12) + Weaponry (lines 43-45).

F. Horse (line 10a) + Horse Description (lines 41-42) + Horse (lines 46-49).

G. Antithesis Pitchblack-Burning Coal (line 6) + Antithesis Ash-Burning Coal (line 26).

H. Poem as a Necklace (lines 22, 62-65).

Most of the features listed here can easily also be found in other poems by Ibn Khafâja: cases such as grammatical parallelism, the type *lâ ... illâ*, the frequent mention of the first person singular Perfect can be found in the famous mountain poem,²² in which the poet also uses one of his favourite expressions *mazzaqtu jayb al-layl* ('I tore the collars of the night' with a slightly different context). This expression, if traced back far enough, derives from earlier poets such as Dhû l-Rumma. It is found in our poem and many others by Ibn Khafâja.

The Genitive metaphor can be seen as one of the dominant features in this poem as well, some of these metaphors are identifying and some of them attributive, while others are connected with a verb.²³ The figure of speech occurs frequently in Ibn Khafâja's oeuvre, especially in the poem discussed here. Like the genitive metaphor, the colour-based imagery is one of the main features of Ibn Khafâja's poetry, the basic contrast being black and white. In this respect, it is not surprising that the word *layl* ['night'] is one of the most frequently used words.

22 Cf. *Dîwân*, ed. S.M. Ghâzî, p. 215.

23 Cf. A. Schippers, 'The Genitive-Metaphor in the Poetry of Abû Tammâm', in Rudolph Peters, *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Leiden, 1981, pp. 248-260.

Certain words in the list of repeated words are connected with the particular narrative of the poem, such as *khidr* ['woman's apartment'] and *ḥayy* ['tribe']. Other words occur fairly frequently in Ibn Khafâja's poetry. The significance of the repetition of words lays in the organization of the poem. Certain key words with different meanings (such as *ghurra* and its derivatives) convey a certain sense of cohesion throughout the whole poem. This is even more so with the repetition of the semantic fields: daybreak with its different symbolic notions, positive as well as negative, such as the time of awakening for the garden with the boon companions, the time of separation for the lovers, and the time of creation of the poem. The frequent use of the words 'night' and 'darkness' as opposed to brightness, also gives Daybreak a symbolic value with reference to the praised prince, who is bright and even the Sun of Time.

The wine drinking (linked with daybreak in line 2) is used in line 10b by way of comparison. This kind of interweaving of primary meanings and compared meanings occurs in several places of the poem. The repetition of certain semantic units such as pages and lines, horse imagery, weaponry, the description of the woman throughout the poem gives it its cohesion and harmony. Thus, the first part of the poem, the love adventure, is linked to the second and encomiastic part, yet also provides a contrast to it. In the first part, the night has a positive meaning: it unifies lover and beloved; the light of the morning announces the separation. The weaponry in the first part is an obstacle for the poet to reach the tribal woman. In the second part, light, brightness, and weaponry have a positive meaning as attributes of the praised prince.

In this way, Ibn Khafâja adapted his poetry to the changes in political circumstances. Once that the 'Moroccan' Almoravid dynasty had become important, and once it had become necessary for him to make panegyrics, he still used his favourite themes of garden, weaponry and horse description, as well as his colour contrasts, but integrated them in a well-organized manner with the encomiastic themes.

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Appendix: Arabic text

١. أما والتفات الروض عن زرق النهر / وإشراف جيد الغصن في حلية الزهر
٢. وقد نسمت ريح النعamy فنبتت / عيون الندامى تحت ريحانة الفجر
٣. وخدر فتاة قد طرقت وإنما / أبحثُ به وكر الحمامة للصقر
٤. وقد خلعتُ البرد عنه وإنما / نشرتُ به طيَّ الصحيفة عن سطر
٥. لقد جبت دون الحي كل ثنية / يحوم بها نسر السماء على وكر
٦. وخضت ظلام الليل يسودُ فحمة / ودستُ عرين الليث ينظر عن جمر
٧. وجئتُ ديار الحي والليل مطرق / منمنم ثوب الأفق بالانجم الزهر
٨. أشيم بها برق الحديد وربما / عثرتُ بأطراف الردينية السمر
٩. فلم ألق إلا صعدة فوق لامة / فقلتُ قضيبُ قد أطل على نهر
١٠. ولا شمتُ إلا غرة فوق شقرة / فقلتُ حبابُ يستدير على خمر
١١. ودون طروق الحي خوضة فتكة / موروسة السربال دامية الظفر
١٢. تطلع في فرع من النقع أسود / وتسفر عن خد من السيف محمر
١٣. فسرت وقلب البرق يخفق غيرة / هناك وعين النجم تنظر عن شزر
١٤. وطار إليها بي جناح صباية / فطار بها عني جناح من الذعر
١٥. فقلتُ رويداً لا تراعي فإننا / لتطوى ضلوع الليل مناً على سر
١٦. وسكنتُ من نفس تجيش مروعة / ومسحتُ عن عطف تمايل مزور
١٧. ومزقتُ جيب الليل عنها وإنما / رفعتُ جناح الستر عن بيضة الخدر
١٨. وقبّلتُ ما بين المحيا إلى الطلى / وعانقتُ ما بين التراقي إلى الخصر
١٩. وأطرب سجع الحلي من خيزرانة / تميل بها ريح الشبيبة والسكر
٢٠. غزالية الألاحظ ريمية الطلى / مدامية الألى حبايية الثغر
٢١. ترنح في موشية ذهبية / كما اشتبكت زهر النجوم على البدر
٢٢. تلاقى نسبي في هواها وأدمعي / فمن لؤلؤ نظم ومن لؤلؤ نثر
٢٣. وقد خلعت ليلاً علينا يد الهوى / رداء عناق مزقته يد الفجر
٢٤. ولما انجلي ضوء الصباح كأنه / مشيبُ بفود الليل طالع من خطر
٢٥. وحط رداء الغيم عن منكب الصبا / ونم على ذيل الدجى نفس الزهر
٢٦. صددت ودون النجم ستر غمامة / يشف كما شف الرماد عن الجمر
٢٧. ولا ليل إلا بالثاوية أقمر / تنفس قيه السكر عن نفحة الشكر
٢٨. ولا كف إلا للأمير كريمة / تبسم فيها النصل عن مبسم النصر
٢٩. وهب بها يمضي فيفري كأنما / شهابُ به ينقض أو قدر يجري
٣٠. فله محمول هناك وحامل / بعيد مجال الصوت والصيت والذكر
٣١. تلوذ المنى منه تأصيد أمجد / صقيل فرند الحمد والمجد والبشر
٣٢. وأبلج منصور اللواء إذا سري / أظلت عقاب النصر أجنحة النسر
٣٣. عليه يمين أن تفيض يمينه / وألا يغض السيف جفنًا على وتر
٣٤. يحب عياب البحر في السلم والوغي / ببذل اليد الغراء والفتكة البكر

٣٥. له فتكةٌ لو زاحم الدهر تحتها / لعدت به دُهم الليالي من الشقر
 ٣٦. وعزمٌ يردُّ الطود هداً ونجدةً / تهزّ قدود السمر في الحلل الحمر
 ٣٧. ووجهٌ وضيءٌ شفّ عنه لثامه / كما شفّ رقراق الغمام عن البدر
 ٣٨. إذا لثمته بالمفاضة روعةً / تراءى هلالٌ منه يطلع من بحر
 ٣٩. سرى بين نوار لزرق أسنةٍ / حدادٍ وأوراقٍ لراياته خضر
 ٤٠. فهزّت إليه عطفها كل رايةٍ / تهزّ عليه الغصن في الورق النضر
 ٤١. وحنّ إليه كل وردٍ مُحجّلٍ / كأنّ لجيناً سال منه على تبر
 ٤٢. يجول فتجري في عنانٍ به الصبا / ويزخر في لبدٍ به البحر في البرّ
 ٤٣. وأشهب وضّاجٌ تحمّل رقعةً / من الحسن لم تعثر بها العين في بشر
 ٤٤. تخطّ سطور الضرب يوماً بها الطبي / ويعجمها وخز المثقفة السمر
 ٤٥. وتدرج منه السلم ما ينشر الوغى / فطوراً إلى طيٍ وطوراً إلى نشر
 ٤٦. وأدهم لولا أنّه راق صورةً / لما عرفته العين من ليلة الهجر
 ٤٧. طويل سيبب العرف والعنق والشوى / قصير عسيب الذيل والأذن والظهر
 ٤٨. له غرةٌ تستصحب النصر طلبةً / كفاك يها في سورة الحسن من عشر
 ٤٩. أما وانتشار النقع عنه صحيفةً / لقد راع في تلك الصحيفة من حبر
 ٥٠. ونال تميمٌ سوّد الكهل في الصبى / فتمّ تمام البدر في غرة الشهر
 ٥١. وحلّت به الأملاك وهي شريفةً / محلّ ليالي الصوم من ليلة القدر
 ٥٢. لبیب فما تدري أراً لحادثٍ / يُبيّت أم سهماً لشاكلةٍ بيري
 ٥٣. تقسّمه جودٌ يفيض وهمّةً / فمن منهلٍ غمرٍ ومن جبلٍ وعر
 ٥٤. له كل نعمةٍ بيّضت كل صفحةٍ / بكلّ مكانٍ فالبهيم من الغرّ
 ٥٥. فلو مسحّت يمناه عن وجهٍ ليلةٍ / لحطّت قناع الليل عن قمر يسري
 ٥٦. رميتُ بآمالي إليه وإنّما / حملتُ به المرعى الجديب إلى القطر
 ٥٧. ولا أملٌ إلّا كتاب شفاعةٍ / إذا الخطب أعى وزره شدّ من أزرى
 ٥٨. شفيحٌ لو استعطفتُ عصر الصبى به / لعاج سقته دمعة المزن من عصر
 ٥٩. وبى مسّ شكوى لا أطيع لها السرى / فإن لم أطأ باب الأمير فعن عذر
 ٦٠. ولو ملّنت عيني الدجى للآثها / بغرة شمس العصر في مطلع القصر
 ٦١. وما المرء إلّا قلبه فاذا سرى / مع الركب من شوق فإنّي مع السفر
 ٦٢. أبا الطاهر اقبلها إليك تحيةً / أرقت عليها سُحرةٌ رونق السحر
 ٦٣. خلعت قوافيها عليك وإنّما / نظمتُ بها عقداً نفيساً على نحر
 ٦٤. فسدّ وطأ التيجان عزّاً وذدّ وجدّ / رحيب فناء الملك عالي يد الأمر
 ٦٥. طليق لسان السيف والضيف والندى / رفيع منار القدر والذكر والفخر

BERBERS IN AL-ANDALUS AND ANDALUSIS IN THE MAGHRIB AS REFLECTED IN *TAWSHĪH* POETRY

BY
OTTO ZWARTJES
University of Nijmegen

0. Introduction¹

The subject of this article is the cultural transfer between al-Andalus and the Maghrib as reflected in strophic poetry. The first objective of this article is to give an answer when and by whom Andalusi strophic poetry was transmitted to the Maghrib, where it still flourishes today. The second objective is to analyse the image of the Berbers, Almoravids and Almohads, in Andalusi strophic poetry. The multicultural and multilingual character of their society is reflected in Andalusi strophic poetry. Languages and alphabets of the three religions have been used in the final lines, the *kharjas*. When studying Andalusi Arabic strophic poetry we notice a great discrepancy in the judgments of this type of poetry and its immense popularity in many different periods. These non-classical genres are usually not included in the anthologies of prestigious literature. During the Berber dynasties this literary tradition reached the status of ‘court literature’ and we see that ‘innovation’ became a new ‘tradition’. Later, we see even that this ‘popular’ poetry became the ‘classical’ Maghribi musical tradition. The higher esteem in al-Andalus contributed to the wide diffusion of these poems in the Maghrib and other regions of the Islamic world. In this article I shall study the role of the Berbers in the great success and the diffusion of this kind of poetry in the Maghrib.

1. Andalusi strophic poetry

In al-Andalus two new forms of poetry, the strophic *muwashshah* and the *zajal*, developed within Arabic literature. The *muwashshah* is written in classical Arabic and closes with a *kharja* which can be written in classical, colloquial Arabic or in ‘non-Arabic’ diction, in most cases in Romance or in

1 I want to express my gratitude to Dr G.J. van Gelder (University of Groningen) for his kind help, corrections and suggestions.

a mixture of Romance and colloquial Arabic. The *zajal* is mainly written in one of the Hispano-Arabic dialects. The ‘inventor’ of the *muwashshah* is according to Ibn Bassâm’s *Kitâb al-Dhakhîra* (1979:469) the blind poet Muqaddam b. Mu‘âfâ al-Qabrî who lived at the end of the ninth century in the period of the Umayyad Cordoban *amîr* ‘Abd Allâh b. Muḥammad al-Marwânî, who reigned from 888 to 912. This literary innovation is posterior to the musical innovations introduced by Ziryâb, who immigrated from the East to al-Andalus where he founded a ‘conservatory’. It is probable that these strophic compositions infiltrated the repertoire of poets and musicians of the ‘school of Ziryâb’, so that soon a musico-poetical ‘tradition’ was born. We still can hear remnants of this tradition in the Maghribi-Andalusi *nawbas* where *tawshîh* poetry (*muwashshah* and *zajal*) form the most essential component of the texts and their musico-rhythmical structures.

The earliest sources of the region, both Andalusi and Maghribi, do not leave us any doubt in their evaluation of these non-classical compositions. Abû l-Ḥasan b. Bassâm al-Shantarîni (Ibn Bassâm), who was born during the Banû l-Aḥṣâs in the Taifa period, did not include *muwashshahât* in his anthology. In the Maghrib we see the same: ‘Abd al-Wâḥid b. ‘Alî al-Tamîmî al-Marrâkushî (1185-1249), although admiring the poet Ibn Zühr, apologised for not including *muwashshahât* in his work, because it was not customary to do so in such sizeable respectable works. Al-Faṭḥ b. Khâqân, a literary historian and also a *kâtib* of the Almoravid governor of Granada Abû Yûsuf Tâshufîn b. ‘Alî, wrote his *Qalâ'id* excluding the *muwashshahât*. Some of the great *aficionados* and theoreticians of the genre are not Andalusis. Ibn Khaldûn lived in Tunisia (14th century), Ibn Sanâ' al-Mulk in Egypt (end of the twelfth and the first decade of the 13th century) and Ṣaḥî al-Dîn al-Hillî (14th century) lived in Iraq (14th century). These literary historians admired the Andalusis and through their sources we know that these Andalusi compositions were very popular in the East already in the 12th century.² The Hispano-Hebrew poets imitated their Hispano-Arabic colleagues and brought their Hebrew imitations (*mu‘ârâḍât*) also to the East.

2 Iraq and its capital Baghdad were always the ideal source of inspiration for Andalusian poets. See Ibn Quzmân’s (*zajal* no. 22/5; Corriente 1995:94) and also the illustrative tenth strophe of *zajal* no. 65 (Corriente 1995:204): “zâjâlî lmarfû^c/ fal ‘irâq masmû^c:/ ‘inna dhâ matbû^c/ bâdat al ‘ashâr/ ‘inda dha lhazâlî.” (“My famous *zajal* will be heard in Iraq, it is inspired (or: natural; not contrived) and other [type of poetry] is worthless, compared to this in vernacular [language]”).

2. Andalusī strophic poetry during the Taifa rulers, Almoravids and the Almohads and its diffusion in North Africa

In the Taifa period, poets worked at the numerous courts of the ‘petty’ kings who belonged to different ethnicities. The dynasty of the Taifa kingdom Toledo, the *Banû dhî-l-Nûn* were of Berber origin and the *washshâh* Ibn Arfa^c Râ’suh worked for them.³ Some courts were more interested in poetry than others. For example, the court of Saragossa under the *Banû Hûd* was more a scholarly than a poetic centre, but we find nevertheless some authors of *muwashshahât* in the North, such as al-Aṣḥâḥ al-Lâridî (Lérida),⁴ or al-Jazzâr from Saragossa. The Taifa kingdom of Granada, where the *Ṣinhâja* Berbers ruled, was an important centre of poetic activities, in particular of Hebrew poetry. The Jewish vizier Shemû’el b. Naghreylâ (or: Naghrillâh) is one of these celebrated poets. The main poetic centres were the former capital of the Caliphate of Cordoba, Badajoz under the *Banû al-Aftas*, Almería under the *Banû Ṣumâdiḥ*, Murcia, first under the slave-dynasty *Khayrân*, but later annexed by Valencia under the *Banû ‘Abd al-‘Azîz*, and of course Seville under the *Banû ‘Abbâd*.

Andalusī Arabic urban secular culture in al-Andalus was menaced by the puritan orthodox Islamic culture of the Almoravids. The King of Seville, al-Muṭtamid b. ‘Abbâd, requested their assistance against the expansion of the Christians from the North. When the Almoravids came to al-Andalus, they defeated the armies of King Alfonso VI at Zallâqa (Sagrajas) and they immediately deposed all the Taifa Kings, except the Taifa of the *Banû Hûd* of Saragossa. The new Berber rulers from the Sahara tried to ‘purge’ Andalusī culture and exiled al-Muṭtamid to Aghmât in Southern Morocco. Al-Muṭtamid of Seville spent the rest of his life in jail there and wrote nostalgic poems, his so-called *aghmâtiyyât*. Others followed him, voluntarily or not, and settled in North Africa. Among the most important, I mention the poets Ibn al-Labbâna and Ibn Ḥamdîs. Ibn al-Labbâna, who wrote earlier panegyrics to the ‘Abbâdids of Seville in al-Andalus, visited the deposed king in the Sahara (Aghmât) and he continued to compose panegyrics in the manner of the *muwashshah*, praising the *Banû Ḥammâd* in Algeria;⁵ he died in Mallorca. The second poet is Ibn Ḥamdîs, who is mentioned as a composer of *muwashshahât* by al-Ṣafadî.⁶ He was born in Sicily

3 Lisân al-Dîn b. al-Khatîb: *Jaysh al-tawshîh*. Ed. Nâjî & Mâdûr, Tunis, 1967, no. 51.

4 We must be aware of the fact that we cannot ascertain the real background from the *nisba* only; the person in question may be a member of a family which migrated many generations earlier from Lérida.

5 *Jaysh al-Tawshîh*, no. 41.

in 1056⁷ and emigrated to Seville in 1078 where he was 'rediscovered' by King al-Muṭamid. Ibn Ḥamdīs followed the King to the Maghrib after the fall of the Taifa Seville, where he dedicated panegyrics to the prisoner, elegiac and consolatory compositions. He passed the last years at the court of the Hammūdid of Bijāya (Bougie). He died as a blind poet in 1133 in Mallorca or in Bijāya (von Schack 198:239).⁸

Migrations of Andalus to the Maghrib and the continuation of their poetical tradition meant that Andalusī influence reached these territories already during the first years of the reign of the Almoravids. The unification of Maghribi and Andalusī territories undoubtedly favoured the diffusion of *tawshīḥ* poetry. This appears to be a contradiction, since we know that the Almoravids rejected Andalusī-Arabic secular cultural products. Poets complained that they could not find a maecenas, whereas Almoravids complained that they could not find poets who were willing to compose panegyric compositions for them (Pérès 1934:19). Here, a considerable discrepancy is felt between two different cultures. When the Almohads substituted the Almoravids, many poets had no problems in continuing to write panegyrics for their new rulers.⁹

The author Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khayra al-Mawāṣinī is a contemporary source of the first Almohad ruler ʿAbd al-Muʿmin (1130-1163) and his son Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf I (1163-1184). He was born in Cordoba and lived in Granada and he is one of the many Andalusīs who passed the Straits and settled in Morocco, where he died in 1168. He wrote his book *Rayḥān al-albāb wa rayʿān al-shabāb* in 1163 and he also wrote a *Kitāb al-washshāḥ al-mufaṣṣal*, which is lost (Nykl 1946:353). As a secretary of the Almohad ruler Abū Yaʿqūb and as a theoretician he probably contributed to the diffusion of the genre in North Africa during the Almohads. As ʿAlī Makkī observed, the Andalusī novelty reached Egypt already before Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's treatise and anthology was composed. The first *washshāḥ* was Zāfir al-Ḥaddād (died in 1135) and the second poet mentioned by Makkī was Naṣr b. ʿAbd Allāh, known as Ibn Qalāqīs who was born in 1138. He composed *muʿaradāt*¹⁰ of al-Aʿmā, the blind poet from

6 *Tawshīʿ al-tawshīḥ*, Ed. A.H. Muṭlaq, Beirut, 1966.

7 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭib* I, pp. 345 and 357, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut, 1968.

8 Unfortunately, he did not return to Sicily. In that case, he might have introduced the *muwashshah* there. It is fascinating that in that case he might have closed his poems with *kharjas* in the Romance Sicilian dialect.

9 For instance, Ibn Ḥabūs wrote panegyrics for the Almoravid rulers (*Lamtūna*) and later for the Almohads. He was called the official poet of the new dynasty (*shāʿir al-khilāfa l-mahdiyya*, Pérès 1934:22 and 32).

Tudela and he moved to Sicily where he dedicated panegyrics to the Norman King William II (Makkî 1991:244-245).¹¹

The cultural centres of the Taifa period remained centres of poetic activity after the conquests of the Almoravids and the Almohads. During a session of poets (*majlis*), where often poetical contests are involved, poems were recited in an assembly. *Tertulia*-like gatherings of famous poets are recorded in Seville, such as al-Aʿmâ al-Tuḡlî (died in 1126), Ibn Baqî (died in 1145, or 1150?) and others. According to Ibn Khaldûn, original things were produced at that time, i.e. the age of the 'veiled' (the Almoravids).¹² The blind poet of Tudela, al-Aʿmâ al-Tuḡlî, competed with Ibn Bâjja in witty compositions at the court of Ibn Tîfilwî at Saragossa (Nykl 1946:254-255). The same al-Aʿmâ al-Tuḡlî wrote panegyrics to both the Almoravids¹³ in al-Andalus and the Banû Qâsim in Salé (García Gómez 1975:25).

An important factor in the diffusion of the Andalusī strophic innovation is the fact that many poets, both Hebrew and Arabic, travelled through the whole Islamic world, and some visited or were exiled to Christian countries or to the Islamic world, the Maghrib or the Mashriq. I shall demonstrate this with some more examples. The diffusion of the *zajal* was favoured in particular by its mystic-religious subcategory, especially the compositions of Ibn al-ʿArabî (1165-1240) and al-Shushtarî (1212-1269). The latter brought his compositions, *qaṣā'id*, *azjâl* and *muwashshahât* and works in prose, to North Africa and in Tunis his name, transformed to Shishtarî, is used for describing a musical genre and the instrument with which it is accompanied (Massignon 1949:31).¹⁴ After having lived in Loja, where he learned the profane style of Andalusī strophic poetry, he had to leave al-Andalus and moved to Miknâs,¹⁵ and later to Bijâya (Bougie) and the Mashriq.

10 The term *muʿârada* is used for literary emulation or imitation with the same rhyme and prosodical pattern.

11 This poet died in 1172 in Yemen. Makkî also mentions the *washshahûn* al-Qâḍî al-Fâḍil (died in 1200) and ʿUmâra al-Yamanî (died in 1174) who both antedate Ibn Sanâ' al-Mulk.

12 *Muqaddima*: "There was much competition (in *muwashshah* poetry) during the reign of the Veiled (Almoravid) Ṣinhâjah. Original things were produced at that time" (Rosenthal: 1967:III:442; Arabic text: 1967:1139). See also Norris: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Edition, "Al-Murâbitûn", p. 587).

13 Dâr al-Tîrâz: *Hulwu l-majânî* is a panegyric on the occasion of the accession of ʿAlî b. Yûsuf b. Tâshufîn to the office of *Amîr al-Muslimîn* (Stern 1974:100).

14 Another ethymology for Shishtarî is that the term derives from *sistrum* (musical instrument).

15 His *zajal* 'Shuwaykh min ardi Miknâs/ wast alaswâq yighannî' remembers his stay

The Hispano-Hebrew poet Mosheh b. ʿEzrâ was born in Granada, but he had been exiled to Castile where he complained about the lamentable cultural atmosphere of Christian territories, compared to Islamic Spain. When he talks about strophic poetry, he admits that he also wrote these non-classical forms and he considered this as having ‘committed sins’. Ibn Bâjja was born in the Taifa of Saragossa, but when Alfonso I el Batallador of Aragón reconquered the kingdom in 1118, he went to the Muslim South, first to Seville and Játiva, and later he went to Fâs where he was poisoned. Yehûdâ ha-Levî was born in the North, in the last days of Islamic rule in Tudela, and he moved to the South. He left the Iberian soil for the East and composed a *muwashshaha* in Alexandria on his journey to the Holy Land. The poet al-Aʿmâ al-Tuḥlî was born in Tudela and lived also in Murcia and Seville. Many Arabic poets had contacts with North Africa, which is historically understandable, because the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties ruled both sides of the Mediterranean. Ibn al-ʿArabî was born in Seville in 1076. He studied in the East, returned to Seville and died in 1148 in Fâs. Al-Mawwâʿinî was born in Cordoba, lived in Granada and died in 1168 in Morocco; Ibn Sahl wrote in Seville and died in Ceuta in 1251. Abû Bakr Aḥmad b. Mâlik al-Saraqustî, as Ibn al-Khaṭîb informs us, travelled to Egypt and he visited Marrâkush (García Gómez 1961:27).

It is very probable that the greatest composer of *azjâl*, Ibn Quzmân, visited Fâs, since he composed a panegyric *zajal* to al-ʿAbbâs b. Aḥmad in Fâs.¹⁶ Abû Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mâlik al-Saraqustî, mentioned in Ibn Saʿîd’s *Mughrib* as a composer of *azjâl* was also a composer of *muwashshahât*.¹⁷ He was a secretary of Ibn Mardânish. He travelled to Egypt¹⁸ and visited Marrâkush. Al-Muhr b. al-Faras rebelled against the Almohads in the south of Morocco, according to al-Ṣafadî’s *al-Wâfi* (Stern 1974:111). In the same source we see that he was acknowledged as Caliph by the tribe of Lamṭa, who betrayed him and delivered him to the Almohads who killed him. The *washshâḥ* Ibn al-Ṣâbûnî (Almohads) emigrated to Egypt (Stern 1974:112). We also have evidence for the fact that in Tunis *muwashshahât* were composed by the poet Abû l-Ḥajjâj Yûsuf b. Muraṭayr, a physician during the period of the Almohad Caliph al-Nâṣir (1199-1214) (Stern 1974:113).

in this city (Corriente 1988: no. 83).

16 The fact that Ibn Quzmân indeed visited the Maghrib is probable but this can not be sustained by real evidence, since the poet also wrote panegyrics to magnates whom he never met.

17 *Jaysh al-Tawshîḥ* nos. 158-165.

18 Possibly he may have been one of the direct sources of Ibn Sanâ’ al-Mulk, although this cannot be supported by evidence.

Some Maghribi poets emigrated to al-Andalus, such as Ibn Ḥabûs (Pérès 1934:19), but it is not known whether he wrote *tawshîḥ* poetry. It is an illustration of ‘cultural exchange’ between the two sides of the Straits during the Almoravids.

3. Andalusî and Maghribî non-Classical Arabic poetry

It is very difficult to distinguish Maghribî from Andalusî poetry, since many Andalusîs left the Peninsula for the Maghrib and continued their profession in the Maghrib. A complicating factor is the term Maghrib itself, which means ‘The West’, and which may include both the Iberian Peninsula and the Western regions of North Africa. It is impossible to say to which degree poets were influenced by local Maghribî poetry, for instance by using the Arabic vernaculars, since such *muwashshahât* with colloquial Maghribî *kharjas* are not handed down to us. However, we have some testimonies. Ibn Khaldûn, who was born in Tunis in 1332 had lived in al-Andalus for some years. He distinguishes clearly between the Maghribî and Andalusî poets. He informs us that the Maghribîs developed their own ‘couleur local’ in poetry, partly inspired by the Andalusîs, but still important enough to be mentioned in his *Muqaddima*. According to Ibn Khaldûn, the versification of the *zajal* was developed from the *muwashshah*. When the Andalusî poets composed their *azjâl*, they “even employ all fifteen [Khalîlian] meters for poems in the vulgar dialect”. Ibn Khaldûn tells us also that the Maghribîs, in particular those living in the cities, created their local compositions, similar to the *muwashshah*, which is based on ‘local meter’ (*‘arûḍ al-balad*, Rosenthal 1967:III:466; Arabic text 1967:1160).¹⁹ It is noteworthy that Ibn ‘Umayr, the originator of this local Maghribî form, was an Andalusî, who worked in Fâs.²⁰ Ibn Khaldûn observed that he wrote ‘in the manner of the *muwashshah*, in which he only rarely disregarded the rules of the vowel endings. It will be clear that such a poem ceases to be a *muwashshah*; it can be better classified as a *zajal* or as the ‘mixed types’, such as the *muzannam*, or the *zajal*-like *muwashshah*. The poem of Ibn ‘Umayr, however, does not have the structure of the *zajal*, since it has the rhyme-scheme *abab cdcd*, etc. It is important that the poem in question follows strictly the thematical

19 Al-Maqqarî uses the same term when he mentions the poet Ibn ‘Umayr (*Nafh al-Tib* I:832). He was an Andalusian poet who lived in Fâs (Corriente 1994:83,n.2).

20 Possibly, this author is the same poet as Abû Bakr b. ‘Umayr al-Maghribî. Al-Maqqarî quotes seven fragments of this author (*Nafh al-Tib*, I: 832; Corriente 1994:83-84).

structure of the *muwashshah*, which had been derived from the *qasâ'id* of the 'neoclassicists' (*muhdathûn*), from the East. Ibn Khaldûn informs us that the inhabitants of Fâs liked this 'method' in their poetry, by omitting the vowel endings. This innovation could generate other poetical forms and Ibn Khaldûn distinguishes several subcategories, such as the *muzawwaj*, the *kâzî*, the *mal'aba* and the *ghazal* (Rosenthal 1967:III:468; Arabic text: 1967:1162). Ibn Khaldûn quotes a *muzawwaj* of Ibn Shujâc, a Maghribi poet from Tâzâ. The second example closes with a *kharja*-like quotation in direct speech. In the following paragraph, Ibn Khaldûn mentions other Maghribi poets, such as 'Alî b. al-Mu'adhdhin al-Kaffî of Tlemcen, a blind poet who worked in Miknâs. From the latter, he quotes a *mal'aba*. In this poem, the theoretician emphasised the use of canonical rhetorical techniques, such as the *barâ'at al-istihlâl* ('excellence of beginning'). The *mal'aba* in question also follows strictly the polythematic structure of 'classical' and 'neo-classical' poetry (*nasîb*, *takhalluṣ* and *madh*), in this case the praise for the Banû Marîn. Ibn Khaldûn reports that the people of Tunis imitated these so-called *mal'abas* in their dialect, but according to his judgement, they are very bad compositions (Rosenthal 1967:III:475; Arabic text:1967:1166). This leads us to the conclusion that local Maghribi poetry was overshadowed by Andalusî strophic poetry and never shared the same popularity.

The use of colloquial elements is not automatically a reason for categorising such texts in a low register. In the highest classical register, blasphemous, plebeian, pornographic or obscene ideas can be expressed, whereas in a low register elaborate techniques of rhetoric can be applied, as we can see in the application of the tripartite structure of the compositions sharing elements of *'arûd al-balad*. Ibn Khaldûn informs us about the relation between linguistic and stylistic phenomena. I quote the passage in question:

It should be known that taste as to what constitutes eloquence in connection with such poetry [vernacular poetry] is possessed only by those who have contact with the dialect in which (a particular poem) is composed, and who have had much practice in using it among the people who speak it. Only thus do they acquire the habit of it, as we stated with regard to the Arabic language. A Spaniard has no understanding of the eloquence of Maghribî poetry. Maghribîs have none for the eloquence of the poetry of Easterners or Spaniards, and Easterners have none for the eloquence of Spaniards and Maghribîs. All of them use different dialects and word combinations. Everybody understands eloquence in his own dialect and has a taste for the beauties of the poetry of his own people. «In the creation of the heavens and the earth and the difference of your tongues and colors, there are, indeed, signs for those who know» (Rosenthal 1967:III:479-480; Arabic text: 1967:1168-9).

After having examined the sources, I can conclude that 'vernacular' poetry is usually omitted in prestigious anthologies. If it was recorded, anthologists embellished these compositions (*tawshih* in its literary meaning), adding the 'couleur local' and showing the regional interest of the Andalusí innovation. It is very probable that Maghribí poets tried to share in the success of their Andalusí colleagues, using the same techniques, such as omitting vowel endings (*ʿirâb*) in classical compositions in order to present them just as if they belong to prestigious literature. This explains why many did not succeed in imitating the 'couleur local' and wrote bad compositions. These compositions were not classical or prestigious enough, nor did they represent 'genuine popular poetry'. They were unlucky imitations or misrepresentations of (semi-)classical poetry.

4. The image of the Berbers in Andalusí strophic poetry

So far, I have described the diffusion of Andalusí poetry in the Maghrib. The following section will be dedicated to the image of the Berbers as reflected in Andalusí strophic poetry. It is a well known fact that in Andalusí strophic poetry sometimes berberisms are used in the non-Classical language of the *zajal* and the *kharjas*. The question why we do not have complete *kharjas* in one of the Berber languages, or in a mixture of Berber and colloquial Arabic is still unanswered. It is surprising that Andalusí poets did not use the Berber language in the *kharjas* of their panegyrics and opted for colloquial Arabic or Romance. Many poets must have had a certain command of Berber, in particular during the first generation of Berber newcomers to al-Andalus. As has been demonstrated by Federico Corriente in his recent publications, the number of berberisms in the poetry of Ibn Quzmân is limited. Around twenty words are recorded which can be explained in such a manner, opposed to ten times as many Romance words in the same corpus. The explanation of the relative small number of Berber elements is the fact that the Berbers used their native language exclusively in rural circumstances. When they were absorbed by Andalusí Arabic city-life, they abandoned their language quickly. Many Berbers even were Arabized earlier in the Maghrib (Corriente 1981:30) before they came to al-Andalus.

In many *muwashshahât* and *azjâl*, the poets allude to the rulers of the two Berber dynasties, the Almoravids and the Almohads. In the panegyrics usually an important ruler or magnate is praised for his excellent qualities. It is also usual that in many cases poets expressed their criticism in the description of the new non-Arabic rulers. This seems to contradict the common image of the rigorous theocracy of the Almoravid and Almohad

dynasties, which in many cases turned out to be very intolerant. According to García Gómez, Ibn Quzmân was even able to use the Berber language.²¹

In the following sections I shall dedicate attention to the presence of the Berber dynasties in ‘colloquial’ poetry, the *kharjas* of the *muwashshahât* and the *azjâl*.

4.1. *The Berbers in the kharjas*

Andalusi poetry is full of urban elements, as we can see from the use of the names of cities, the streets (“la shákka bassimât hu ḥabíb qálbi jalis ma^c al-miláh”) ²² or the market-place as meeting-places for lovers, etc. Not only Andalusian cities are mentioned (*Ishbilya*= Seville); ²³ we also find Maghribi cities, such as Fâs (*Udda* no. 13).

The Maghribi shore is mentioned in a *kharja* of Yehûdâ ha-Levî: “Kiss me! for verily, in the morrow I am leaving for the [African] shore” (*khârijun ila-l-udwah*). ²⁴

In a *kharja* of Ibn Baqî (*Udda* no. 139), we read the following lines: “hawá zábyat+ albarábir/ hájji waribáti...”

“The love of the Berber gazelle is my pilgrimage and my hospice...”. (Corriente 1993-4:28)

4.1.1. *The Berber family Guennûn*

An example of a panegyric is the following *kharja* of an anonymous *muwashshaha*, from the *Dâr al-Tirâz*. In this case, a girl addresses a panegyric to ‘Kannûnî’, which is a name of a Berber family, the ‘Guennûn’:

21 “Que Ben Quzmân, a quien a veces se ha supuesto un godo rezagado -alto, rubio, de ojos azules-, andaluz y vecino de Andalucía, donde cada vez sabemos con mayor precisión que todavía se hablaba romance, conociera esta lengua y la empleara, es cosa perfectamente natural. Y, de saber otro idioma, no cabe duda que sería el beréber, puesto que Ben Quzmân vivía en un país dominado a la sazón por los Almorávides, en trato diario y frecuente con ellos, y de los Almorávides primeros sabemos que habalaban más beréber que árabe, y que el árabe lo hablaban mal” (García Gómez 1972:III:466-467).

22 *Udda* no. 61. (“Without any doubt his beloved is sitting in the street among the sweethearts”). In *Udda* no. 313 we read “yâ qawmi mâ (a)kthar ^cuššâqî/ lâ yabrahû min zuqâqî” (“Oh my people, How many adore me, without abandoning my street!”).

23 The text of the first line of this *kharja* is (“Seville is awaiting him since ancient times”) Ibn Zuhri (*Udda* no.115). Seville is also mentioned in another *kharja* by Ibn Zuhri (*Udda* no.166).

24 See Almladh (1992-93:20).

anta l-munâ táhlû
 fa-truk kalâma l-nâs
 wa-dkhul ma'î ilfî
 mithla l-sharâb fî l-kâs
 yâ kannûnî
 kaymâ tusallî-nî

“You, my desire, are sweet/ Forget what people say/ Enter with me, my love/ Like wine in the cup/ O Kannûnî,/ To divert me.”²⁵

4.1.2. *The agillîd*

In a *kharja* of Ibn Labbûn (Ghâzî 1979:I:158) the beloved is a little King. The Berberism *agillîd* is used for ‘King’, or prince.²⁶

4.2. *The Almoravids and the Almohad Berbers as reflected in the azjâl*

4.2.1. *The Almoravids in the Dîwân of Ibn Quzmân*

4.2.1.1. *Lamtûna and the mulaththamûn*

The term Almoravids (*al-Murâbiṭûn*) is used for many different Berber tribes from the Sahara. The Ṣinhâja in general, but the Lamtûna tribe in particular, who subjugated the Massûfa tribe, constituted a military and political élite and this tribe formed the nucleus of already around the year 1050. The ethnical term Lamtûna is on itself also a name of a confederation of several tribes. The Lamtûna, Guddâla and Lamṭa tribes formed together the Saharan-Almoravid confederation, supported by southern tribes, such as the Jazûla and the Maṣmûda. A characteristic dress of the Almoravids is their *lithâm*, the veil (Chalmeta EI:587; Laroui 1977:158-164),²⁷ so that they are often called ‘the veiled’. Ibn Quzmân uses in his *zajal* (no. 38/16; Corriente 1995:135) the tribal ethnic name of the Lamtûna as a synonym of the Almoravids.

Zajal no. 70 is dedicated to an Almoravid prince, called Dâwûd b. Yatûmmar. In this *zajal* Ibn Quzmân describes the young boy, mentioning

25 Translation from Monroe (1977:no.43); *Dâr al-Tirâz*, no. 16 (Rikâbî 1977:63). See also García Gómez (1962:82) and Fish (1977:26).

26 The word (a)gillîd is used five times in the *Dîwân* of Ibn Quzmân: 40/1/1; 74/0/1; 98/1/3; 124/7/4; 133/3/2 (Corriente 1995 pp. 143, 228, 313, 370 and 386).

27 See also the article of Arie Schippers in this volume, p.21, n.16.

his veil *lithâm* (no. 70/2/4; Corriente 1995:218).²⁸ The term *al-mulaththamûn* is also used by Ibn Quzmân in the *kharja* of on of his *azjâl*:²⁹

wayaqûlli qâlbi «'ahjâm»,/ wanakhâf min 'almulaththâm.

“My heart says: ‘Attack’, but I am afraid of the veiled (the Almoravids).”³⁰

4.2.1.2. *Murâbiṭ*

The term Almoravid has been derived from the *murâbiṭ*. This term (Spanish: ‘morabito’) does not always means literally ‘Almoravid’ but it is used frequently with the meaning of ‘devoted person’.³¹ Ibn Quzmân, who was not a Berber, even called himself also a *murâbiṭ*, as we can read in *zajal* no. 24 where he praises a Cordoban maecenas Abû ʿAlî b. al-Faraḍî. Here, the poet calls himself a *murâbiṭ*, but the line is defective:

Ya 'abû ʿalî! haníyya/ dha lmaḥámîd walma 'áthîr!
wa'aná washsháh wazajjál,/ wa'ana kátîb washá'îr.
'áwkad iddáyk, walî 'alláh,/ yáfdîk arrúḥ waddanânîr!
wáy murábiṭ kinnakún lak/ law ḥa.. (Corriente 1995:102).³²

4.2.1.3. Panegyrics to Almoravid magnates

In the *kharja* of *zajal* no.35, Ibn Quzmân describes a comic, or even ridiculous scene, where the protagonist will ‘run naked to the mausoleum of an Almoravid *qâḍî*, called Mazdalî b. Salankân’ (Corriente 1989:284). It may be obvious that the poet never would have inserted such burlesque elements if he had a great respect for this Almoravid ruler.

Nevertheless, we see in many compositions real panegyrics, where Ibn Quzmân shows deep respect for his Almoravid rulers. It is a well known fact that Ibn Quzmân earned his money by writing such panegyrics. For in-

28 Cf. *zajal* no.87/20/3 (Corriente 1995:271).

29 *Zajal* no.98/5/5 (Corriente 1995:314).

30 Probably, according to Corriente, Ibn Quzmân alludes to the father of a certain Almoravid *agellid* is alluded at, or a Berber husband of a certain woman, a favourite theme of the poet (1989:308).

31 Corriente (1995:32; 1989:268).

32 Translation by Corriente: Enhorabuena, Abû ʿAlî, por estas loas y glorias:/ *mu-waššah* y cejel hago, soy secretario y poeta;/ mete mano, alma de Dios, por mi vida, a los dinares,/ que tu morabito fuero yo si.../ (Corriente 1989:82).

stance, his *zajal* no.38 is dedicated to Abû Ja'far Ḥamdîn who probably went to Marrâkush with the aim to visit the Almoravid ruler 'Alî b. Yûsuf b. Tâshufîn (1106-1143) in order to get an important function in Cordoba. In this poem, Ibn Quzmân eulogizes the Almoravid rulers Yûsuf b. Tâshufîn and his son 'Alî b. Yûsuf and the military succes of the Almoravids after the battle of Zallâqa. This *zajal* is also called the '*zajal* of Zallâqa (Sagrajas)' (Corriente 1989:285). The emir 'Alî b. Yûsuf is called a defendor of Islam, and governor of both sides of the Straits ('*Ṣāhib al-ʿidwa, ṣāhib al'-andalûs*').³³ *Zajal* no. 42 is a panegyric composition dedicated to Ibn Mufaḍḍal, probably an important Almoravid magnate.³⁴

In *zajal* no.47 the poet mentions the battle of Fraga between the Almoravids and the King Alfonso I 'el Batallador' of Aragón (Ben Rudhmîr). In this battle (1134), the Aragonese King was defeated by 'Alî b. Tâshufîn and al-Zubayr. The mention of the battle of Zallâqa is an anachronism, since this event took place before the birth of the poet, who was still 'in the testicles of his father' as he himself informed us.³⁵

Ibn Quzmân obviously complains about the recent annexation of al-Andalus by the Almoravids, since in many cases he looks in retrospect with nostalgia to the period of the *Mulûk al-Tawâ'if*, in particular the days of al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbâd, the petty King of Seville (*zajal* no. 74/7/*kharja*).³⁶ The same complaint about the unfavourable circumstances of poetry during the Almoravids, compared with the period of the Taifas, can be found in *zajal* no. 90/21 (Corriente 1995:289-290).

Other *azjâl* dedicated to Almoravid magnates are *zajal* no. 64: dedicated to an Almoravid amîr, called Zayd; *zajal* no. 93 is a panegyric dedicated to Ibn Martín of Seville. Ibn Quzmân informs us that poetry has been 'killed' since the Almoravids ruled al-Andalus (93/5/1-4; Corriente 1995:296). *Zajal* no. 111 is also a panegyric composition where we find again the theme of nostalgia and the longing for the period of the 'Abbâdids during the reign of the Almoravids.³⁷

As García Gómez observes (1972:II:661), Ibn Quzmân possibly mentions (*zajal* no. 133) Abû Bakr b. Bûkar ('*Rey Búcar*' of the *Poema de Mio Cid*).³⁸

33 *Zajal* no. 38 (Corriente 1995:132).

34 Corriente (1995:148-150). Other panegyrics to Almoravid magnates are *zajal* no. 102, which is dedicated to a young Almoravid general. In the same *zajal* the Almoravid ruler 'Alî b. Yûsuf b. Tâshufîn is mentioned.

35 See García Gómez: (1972:I:246-7).

36 Corriente (1995:230). See also García Gómez (1945).

37 *Zajal* no. 111/9/3 (Corriente 1995:347).

Zajal no. 138 is a panegyric dedicated to al-^cAbbâs b. Aḥmad of Fâs,³⁹ which shows the anomaly of a recurring *matla^c* as a *kharja*. According to García Gómez (1972:II: 685) this *zajal* proves that the poet visited this city, but we must be aware of the fact that Ibn Quzmân sometimes wrote panegyrics to magnates whom he never met.⁴⁰

4.2.2. The Almohads as reflected in the *azjâl*

As we observed earlier, poets such as Ibn Ḥabûs wrote panegyrics for the Almoravid rulers and later for the Almohads, probably ^cAbd al-Mu'min (died in 1163) and Abû Ya^cqûb Yûsuf (died in 1184; Pérès 1934:33). Pérès mentions also Ibn Sahl al-Yakkî (Yecla) a composer of satirical poetry from al-Andalus. Unfortunately, more detailed information of poets, in particular composers of *tawshîh* poetry is almost non-existent. In al-Andalus, the Berber dynasty of the Almohads is often mentioned in the *azjâl* of Ibn Quzmân, e.g. in *zajal* (no. 38/38) of IQ, where he calls them 'men of the Sûs'.⁴¹

The first poet to be mentioned in this context is Madghallîs. According to Nykl (1946:309) the poet was born in 1145 and was court poet of the Almohads.⁴² In the following fragment, the poet refers to the Almohad prince Abû Sa^cîd ^cUthmân b. ^cAbd al-Mu'min, who defended Granada against the attacks of Ibn Hamushk (Corriente 1994:73).

0 laqad liqálbi hîrṣi wa'ilháh i ^cishq+ almiláh.

X ahdáytu hádha+ ddúrri wadha+ lmurjân
 lisáyyid+ almulúk al'amír ^cuthmán
 ^carúd dhak+ alladhí li'abán quzmán
 aljánna law ^cuṭína hiya+ rráh wa^cishq+ almiláh:⁴³

38 See also from the same author: 'Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida, I, 371-377. Roma, 1956.

39 *Zajal* no. 138/3/*qufl* (Corriente 1995:399).

40 Cf. *zajal* no. 22 (Corriente 1995:93-96).

41 'Wala qámu 'alkháyl matá^c assús.' (Corriente 1980:275; 1995:140).

42 (Corriente 1994:63:n.1.).

43 Translation by Corriente: "0. Tiene mi corazón gran empeño e insistencia en amar beldades./ X. He regalado estas perlas y coral/ al señor de reyes, el emir ^cUthmn,/ en el metro de aquel (poema) de Ibn Quzmân:/ el Paraíso si me dieran sería el vino y el amar beldades." (Corriente 1994:73; *Al-^câtil*, 17; Hoenerbach 1956; Arabic text:17).

In the following *matla*^c (prelude) of a *zajal* of Madghallîs, mention is made of Abû Zayd, the son of the Almohad caliph:

0 rája^cat gharnáṭa baghdád mudh walíha man walíha
 xírat+ assáda abu záyd álla yahrázu ^calíha/:⁴⁴

The poet Abû l-Ḥasan ^cAlî ibn Muḥammad al-Shâṭibî mentions in a *zajal* Cardinal Jacinto and the battle of Alarcos, the victory of the Caliph of the Almohads Abû Yûsuf against the armies of Alfonso VIII. This poem shows thematical correspondences with the *zajal* no. 38 of Ibn Quzmân which deals with the battle of Zallâqa (Corriente 1994:79).

Of course, many other poets could have been Maghribi or Andalusi as well, since we lack many details concerning their background. Many poets have the *nisba* ‘al-Maghribî’, which can refer to al-Andalus or the Maghrib, for instance: Abû ^cAbd Allâh Muḥammad b. Ḥassûn al-Ḥallâ’ al-Maghribî, Abû Bakr b. ^cUmayr al-Maghribî and Mansûr al-A^cmâ al-Maghribî (Corriente 1994:83). Other poets or anthologists have the *nisba* al-Gharnâtî, which does not necessarily means that this is an Andalusi author. An example is ^cAlî b. Bishrî al-Gharnâtî, the great collector of *muwashshahât*, was an Maghribî poet and anthologist, from Andalusi background.

5. The texts of the Maghribi-Andalusi musical tradition

Andalusi strophic compositions became a part of the repertoire of the tradition of North-African poets and musicians already since the eleventh century, as we demonstrated earlier. Probably, in earlier centuries, Andalusi poets from the East and from Umayyad al-Andalus could have inspired their colleagues in the Maghrib, but as we can read in the study of Henri Pérès, the literary activities in the Maghrib were relatively poor compared with al-Andalus and the East, until the reign of the Banû Marîn.⁴⁵ This does not

44 Corriente’s translation (1994:75): “0. Granada se ha hecho Bagdad, desde que la rige quien la rige:/ el mejor de los señores de Abû Zayd, ¡Dios se lo conserve!” (*Al-^câtil*, Hoenerbach 1956: Arabic text 64).

45 “Les centres de vraie culture littéraire ne se trouvent pas tout de suite au Maroc, où l’islamisation et l’arabisation ne sont pas très accentuées, mais en Espagne, d’abord à Cordoue et à Séville, puis à Almería, Grenade, Tolède, Valence et Saragosse” (Pérès 1934:10); “Ibn al-Abbâr, qui est contemporain de l’avènement des Mérinides et des Ḥafṣides, ne nous apporte que de bien maigres renseignements sur la poésie à cette époque”. (Pérès 1934:39). The only Fâsî poet mentioned by Pérès is Ibn al-Jannân who was also an Andalusi (Jaén) (*ibid.*).

mean that the Almoravids and the Almohads discouraged poets from writing panegyrics for them. Undoubtedly many distinguished poets worked for them, but probably most poems are lost, in particular the *azjâl*. Ibn Baqî's complaint about the cultural climate of *al-Maghrib al-aqṣâ* is illustrative in this context. For poets, Andalus and Maghrib, the East was always the place with the highest literary prestige (Pérès 1934:14). Unfortunately, we do not find more details in Pérès' article about Maghribi poets who wrote *tawshîh* poetry.

The musical tradition which accompanies the texts of strophic poetry is usually called *al-mûsiqâ al-Andalusiyya*. It is impossible to reconstruct exactly the medieval Andalus music, because a musical notation was unknown and the musicians took their information from oral tradition. When Stern published his lecture 'Andalusian *Muwashshaḥs* in the Musical Repertoire of North Africa' in 1964, he examined Maghribi poems of the musical tradition and came to the conclusion that the Maghribi practice is indeed a direct continuation of the Andalus tradition. It is known that the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties ruled on both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar and, as I have demonstrated earlier, many poets migrated from al-Andalus to the Maghrib. Ibn Baqî and Abû Bakr b. Zuhr worked on Andalus and Maghribi soil as well. In recent years, progress has been made in the research of the texts of the Mss of the Maghribi-Andalus musical tradition. Malik Ben-nouna came to the conclusion that the Maghribi collections contain a real 'amalgama' of Arabic poetry. He traced (1994:29) fragments or poems which can be related to the 'Ancient Arabic tradition', the 'Abbâsids, related to the school of the Mawṣilîs (father and son) and their disciples (such as Ziryâb), poems from al-Andalus (from the Taifa period, Almoravids, Almohads and Naṣrids), poems of Andalus and Maghribi poets from the Banû Marîn, Maghribi poems from the Sa'âdids, the 'Alawîyyûn, and compositions from the East from later periods. This 'canonical' tradition of songs by al-Hâ'ik enjoys a great prestige and is considered the national heritage of Morocco. It is at least remarkable that the 'couleur local' of strophic poetry and the musical tradition have not been developed from Maghribi poets but exclusively from their Andalus colleagues. In order to embellish and enrich this tradition, oriental fragments and local compositions were incorporated. The fact that Ibn Khaldûn classifies Maghribi vernacular poetry into the category of 'bad poetry' corroborates the low esteem of it, compared to compositions of the Andalus.

6. The musico-poetical tradition of the «megorashim»

In the bilingual *matrûz*-poetry (embroidered) of the *megorashim* (expatriated Jews from al-Andalus or Christian Spain) in North Africa, we see Hebrew strophes alternating with Arabic ones. Many of these Judeo-Arabic poems have the *zajal*-like structure. The Arabic language is normally reserved for profane themes, such as the wine-motif, whereas Hebrew is used for religion and liturgy.⁴⁶ Although this interesting subject falls beyond the scope of this article, it will be sufficient to mention this tradition which was an important chain in literary transfer between the Straits, since the Jewish *megorashim* preserved the Andalusí tradition and brought it to North Africa (Zafrani 1977:113). They continued to use *muwashshahât* and *azjâl* in their ceremonies and musico-literary tradition. There also exists Hebrew versions of the al-Ĥâ'ik repertoire of the *nawba*, such as the *nawbat al-dhîl* with the title *Sfîna ma'lûf*.⁴⁷ It is difficult to ascertain to which degree this tradition is a direct continuation of Andalusí practice and until how far it was absorbed by the Maghribi tradition in later centuries. This subject still deserves more detailed research which may cast new light on the Andalusí poetical and musical traditions of the people of the three religions. In the collection *Shir Yedidot*, for instance, compositions by famous Hispano-Hebrew poets, such as Abraham Ibn ʿEzra and Yehûdâ ha-Levî, have been anthologised and poems of later centuries are included. The majority of the Maghribi Hebrew poets from this anthology are of Andalusí origin, i.e. the *megorashim*, such as Aben Şûr, Al-Baz, Elqayim, Abitbol, los Neqawa, etc. (Chahbar 1991:91).

7. Conclusion

Ibn Quzmân's *azjâl* and the *kharjas* of other poets never reached the level of the poems composed by celebrated poets of classical poetry, such as Ibn Khafâja. It appears to be a contradiction when Ibn Quzmân himself observes that he composed his *azjâl* 'in literary Arabic' (*bi-lafẓi l-faṣīḥ*),⁴⁸ in his attempts to imitate *muwashshahât*. In the beginning the Almoravids were illiterate newcomers to the Iberian Peninsula. They adopted urban Arabic-Andalusí culture very quickly and strophic poetry became a part of

46 See Chahbar (1990 and 1991).

47 Zafrani (1977:288:n.1) mentions the edition of Mosheh Bonan (Livorno 1886-1887).

48 *Zajal* no. 51/7/2 (Corriente 1995:171).

their passions until it began to enjoy a higher esteem and prestige. The political unification of both sides of the Straits during the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties contributed to the diffusion of *tawshîh* poetry in the Maghrib. Andalusí poets were always the example for others and 'local' Maghribi poets could not compete with the Andalusis. In these periods, 'traditional' themes were never abandoned. Wine themes and erotic poetry were very popular. In Ibn Quzmân's *azjâl* we see a sharp criticism of the religious fanaticism of the Almoravids and he challenged them directly, as the following *zajal* demonstrates (no. 182; Mubârakshâh; Corriente 1995:450-451).

'Un muecín tengo como vecino, viejo beato, gran rezador, y, cuando al alba sube a exhortarme y: ¡Por salvaros - grita - venid! a mí sus voces el laúd trueca: ¡Venid al vino y al buen festín! (...)

Ibn Quzmân classifies himself as a 'maestro de borracheras' which is completely unacceptable in the ideology of the Almoravid theocracy. I think that the existence of such poetry is evidence for the fact that the orthodox Berbers tolerated, and in many cases enjoyed, vernacular poetry. It appears that the Berber dynasties were absorbed by the sophistication of Andalusí cities and contributed to the diffusion in other countries of Islam.

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Appendix: Arabic text

إبن خلدون

كتاب العبر. مكتبة المدرسة ودار الكتاب اللبناني للطباعة والنشر،
بيروت، ١٩٦٧، (١١٦٨-١١٦٩).

[الموشحات والازجال في المشرق]

واعلم ان الازواق كلها في معرفة البلاغة انما تحصل لمن خالط تلك اللغة
وكثر استعماله لها ومخاطبته بين اجيا لها، حتى تحصل ملكتها كما قلناه في اللغة
العربية. فلا يشعر الاندلسي بالبلاغة التي في شعر اهل المغرب؛ ولا المغربي
بالبلاغة التي في شعر اهل الاندلس والمشرق؛ ولا المشرقي بالبلاغة التي في شعر
اهل الاندلس والمغرب. لان اللسان الحضري وتراكيبه مختلفة فيهم، وكل واحد منهم
مدرك لبلاغة لغته وذائق محاسن الشعر من اهل جلدته. «وفي خلق السماوات
والارض واختلاف السنتكم والوانكم آيات للعالمين».

°ALÎ AL-SHARÎF AND THE *JIHÂD* IN AL-ANDALUS AN INVESTIGATION

BY
TH. MARITA WIJNTJES
Naarden

The *Nubdha*-manuscript and the *Nuzhat al-hâdî* by al-Ifrânî¹

The outcome of historical research is sometimes surprising and not conform the expectations one had from the start. My investigation of °Alî al-Sharîf is such a case. Originally it was only meant to find the background to a poem in a manuscript with historical texts on the history of al-Andalus, but the results justify a separate treatment. This manuscript, the *Nubdhat al-°aṣr fî akhbâr mulûk Banî Naṣr*, got its title from the first part, the story of the last years of the kingdom of Granada, its fall and the emigration of many of its inhabitants to North Africa.² Traditionally it has been attributed to Ibn al-Khatîb, because this title is mentioned among his works.³ But as this fa-

- 1 I want to express my gratitude to Professor dr P. Sj. van Koningsveld of Leiden University, Dept. of Religious Studies, for having provided me with a photocopy of a manuscript in private property in Morocco, and Dr G.J. van Gelder of Groningen University, Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Middle East, for his help in translating the poem.
- 2 Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 10.784 (henceforward called L), from the legacy of E. Lévi-Provençal. The privately owned Moroccan manuscript of the same work I call ms. T because it has a connection with Tetuan. These two manuscripts, of which ms. T is the oldest and most reliable, are at the basis of my investigation. I have not seen the manuscript in Rabat (ms. R), General Library nr. K 1177 (Muḥammad al-Manûnî, *al-Maṣâdir al-°arabiyya li-ta'riḫ al-Maghrib*, I, Rabat, 1404/1983, nr. 286, p. 132). It seems there is another manuscript in the library of the Qarawiyyîn-mosque in Fez (Mohamed B.A. Bencheḡroun, *La vie intellectuelle Marocaine sous les Mérinides et les Wattâsides (XIIIe XIVe XVe XVIe siècles)*, Rabat, 1974, p. 274), but I have not yet succeeded in having this confirmed. The one in the Escorial (ms. E), códice 1877 (Braulio Justel Calabozo, *La real biblioteca de El Escorial y sus manuscritos árabes. Sinopsis histórico-descriptiva*, Madrid, 1978, p. 257) does not contain the text I study in this paper. For further details see my 'A manuscript on the history of Muslim Granada: the *Nubdhat al-°aṣr fî akhbâr mulûk Banî Naṣr* and other texts' (forthcoming).
- 3 Ibn al-Khatîb, *Kitâb al-ihâṭa fî akhbâr Gharnâṭa*, ed. by Muḥammad Abû °Abd Allâh °Inân, 4 vols., Cairo 1973-8, IV, pp. 459-62. A discussion of all his works in his biography by Bencheḡroun, *La vie intellectuelle*, pp. 265-76. Aḡmad Mukhtâr al-°Abbâdî, 'Mu'allafât Lisân al-dîn b. al-Khatîb', *Hespéris*, 46(1959), 247-53 is far

mous *wazîr* of the kingdom of Granada lived in the 8th/14th century, it is obvious that he cannot have been the author. The name of the real author has not yet come to light. This part of the manuscript has been published more than once.⁴ Several of the manuscripts contain two other texts, a very short one on the emigration to North Africa, published as well,⁵ and an unpublished text entitled: *Wa-min takmîl zahr al-riyâd lil-imâm Abî ʿAbd Allâh al-Qanṭrî al-Qaṣrî*. This turned out to be related to al-Maqqarî's *Azhâr al-riyâd*.⁶ The text of the *Takmîl* follows the first book of the *Azhâr al-riyâd*, but set in a more logical historical sequence and without some less relevant digressions. Several poems are given in longer versions, for instance the famous appeal to the Turkish sultan Bayazet.⁷ The last pages before the closing phrases contain a poem by Ibn Abî l-Rabîʿ with accompanying story that is not found in al-Maqqarî's *Azhâr al-riyâd*, nor in his *Nafh al-tîb*.

The author of the *Takmîl*, Abû ʿAbd Allâh al-Qanṭrî al-Qaṣrî, whose dates are not known, belonged to a family of savants in al-Qṣar al-kabîr.⁸ Of the manuscripts I studied, the one I called T, in private possession in Morocco, dates from around 1800 and must be considered the oldest one thus far known.⁹ The *Takmîl* consequently has been written after the publication

from complete.

- 4 Marc. Jos. Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*, München, 1863. A. Bustani and C. Quirós (transl.), *Fragmento de la época sobre noticias de los Reyes Nazarites o Capitulación de Granada y Emigración de los Andaluces a Marruecos (Kitâb Nub-dhat al-ʿaṣr fî akhbâr mulûk Banî Nasr)*, Larache, 1940.
- 5 Bustani, *Fragmento*, pp. 46-9, translation pp. 54-9.
- 6 Shihâb al-dîn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarî, *Azhâr al-riyâd fî akhbâr ʿIyâd*, ed. by Mustafâ al-Saqqa, Ibrâhîm al-Abyârî and ʿAbd al-Ḥâfîz Shalabî, 3 vols., Cairo, 1939-42.
- 7 A short text has been published by James T. Monroe, 'A Curious Morisco Appeal to the Ottoman Empire,' *Al-Andalus*, 31(1966), 281-303. Translation in Mercedes García Arenal, *Los Moriscos*, Madrid, 1975, pp. 33-41.
- 8 Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmân Ben Khalîfa, *al-Qṣar al-Kabîr, ʿlâm adabiyya ʿil-miyya ta'rikhiyya*, Tangier, 1994, pp. 73-77. This is based on Abû ʿAbd Allâh Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib b. ʿAbd al-Salâm al-Ḥasanî al-Qâdirî, *Nashr al-mathânî li-ahl al-qarn al-hâdî ʿashr wa-l-thânî*, transl. as 'Nachr al-Mathânî de Mouhammed al-Qâdirî' by Graulle, Meillard, Michaux, Bellaire, 2 vols., *Archives Marocaines*, 21 and 24 (1913-17) I 144. The name mentioned there as the author of the *Takmîl* does not correspond exactly with the name as given in mss. T and L, therefore I suppose he must have been another member of the same family whose dates are unknown.
- 9 A photograph of the colophon of ms. T, that was the one Bustani, *Fragmento*, used for his edition, has been published by him as *Modelo núm. 4, Fin del Códice B*.

of al-Maqqarī's *Azhār al-riyâd* between 1014-27/1605-1617 and before 1800. This is an unfortunate long interval.

I found a shorter version of the poem by Ibn Abî l-Rabîʿ in the *Nuzhat al-hâdî* by al-Ifrânî, within the larger framework of the early history of the ʿAlawite dynasty.¹⁰ This author based his history largely on earlier works, but as his source for the poem he cites ancient letters. The *Nuzha* was published in 1726 or slightly earlier.¹¹ Al-Nâsirî used this work as his source for the *Kitâb al-istiḡṣâʾ*, which was published in 1894 and served as basis for many later histories of Morocco.¹² The versions of the poem in the *Takmîl* and in the *Nuzha* are evidently based on the same source, but are independent of each other. The one in the *Takmîl* being more extended, it could not have been copied from the *Nuzha*. On the other hand there are details in the *Nuzha* that have not been copied from the *Takmîl*. That means that the date of the *Takmîl* is of lesser importance and that both versions may be considered as of equal value to begin with.

The story

The story in the manuscripts of the *Takmîl* reads as follows:¹³

From what the most learned shaykh, the shaykh of the Islâm Ibn Abî l-Rabîʿ al-Andalusî al-Gharnâtî addressed to the shaykh, the venerable, the fighter, the pious, the ascetic, the leader of the holy caravan of the pilgrimage to the

10 Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allâh al-Ifrânî, *Nuzhat al-hâdî*, edited by O.Houdas, *Nozhet-el-hâdî - Histoire de la dynastie Saadienne au Maroc (1511-1670)*, Publications de l'Ecole de langues vivantes orientales, series III vol. 2, Paris, 1888, pp. 287-98. Translation by O.Houdas, series III vol. 3, Paris, 1889, pp. 477-95.

11 E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfas*, Paris, 1922, p. 121.

12 Aḥmad b. Khâlid al-Nâsirî al-Salawî, *Kitâb al-istiḡṣâʾ li-akhbâr duwal al-maghrib al-aḡṣâ*, 4 parts in 2 vols., Cairo, 1894 (I used a set dated 1912), IV, pp. 4-7, and the same, 2nd ed., 9 bks. in 3 vols., Casablanca, 1954-6, III, pp. 3-12. Translation of part IV of the 1st edition by E. Fumey: Ahmed b. Khâled Ennâsirî Esslâoui, 'Chronique de la dynastie Alaoui du Maroc', *Archives Marocaines*, 9-10(1906-7), 9, 8-14. Many of the events described in this article are also to be found in the *Kitâb al-istiḡṣâʾ*, but since this chronicle was written so much later I preferred to cite only the more contemporaneous works.

13 In ms. L: folio's 52v-54v. In ms. T: pp. 87-94. The marked verses are not to be found in the *Nuzha* and the *Kitâb al-istiḡṣâʾ*. As far as I understand, the verses 1-15 are addressed to Ibn Abî Ibrâhîm, 16-25 are intended to be said to ʿAlî al-Sharîf, 26-35 are again addressing Ibn Abî Ibrâhîm and 36 to the end are directed to ʿAlî al-Sharîf.

sacred house of God and the visit to the tomb of his prophet Muḥammad (the best prayer and the purest peace be on him) Sîdî Muḥammad son of the holy, venerable, chaste shaykh Sîdî Abû Ibrâhîm (may God have mercy on him) to let it be heard by his master the lion, the heroic Mawlânâ ʿAlî al-Sharîf, the *qasîda* that they (sic!) sent to the two of them to praise them both. Here it follows, complete and unabridged:

- 1 You, mounted traveller, traversing steppe and sandy desert
straight be your path, may you encounter well-being and safety
- 2 Trot on and hasten your march day and night
travel and you will find what to whom beholds it looks like flowers
- 3 Carry - may God protect you - to that place of safety
greetings from a man in love kindled by memories
- 4 And betake yourself to the tribal homes of Sijilmâsa
those are the homes combining might and pride
- 5 Give those tents and those who live there greetings
of a lover not enduring to be separate from them
- 6 My love for them is flowing even in my toes and fingers
and circulating in my bones, my blood, my hair
- 7 Those are places of religion, well-being and right guidance
and how many eminent men have risen in her sky like a full moon?
- 8 They are folk that never cause their company annoyance
the scent of blossom spreads among them as a perfume
- 9 Say: You dear people of the *qibla*, highborn lords, who,
whenever called upon, are quick to send their troops
- 10 And single out Abû ʿAbd Allâh and seek refuge with him
and then you will get happiness instead of distress
- 11 That scion of Abû Ishâq, – and what an excellent father! –¹⁴
who has bequeathed a chaste, obedient and pious line
- 12 Was it not he who answered the call of the men of Tangier
and collected immediately all the people of the West?
- 13 And what a heavy loss he did inflict on the infidel
who died not by the sword did so from fear
- 14 The front of religion showed its bright teeth in a smile
and the faces of the infidel it made glum of sadness
- 15 Happiness and approval from God he so obtained
and Eden's garden is the treasure awaiting him in all eternity

14 The *kunya* Abû Ishâq is usually given to persons called Ibrâhîm, so this name is probably used as an alternative for the same family. In the same way in verse 10 Abû ʿAbd Allâh replaces Muḥammad en in verse 47 Abû Hasan replaces ʿAlî.

- 16 Say: You fairest of men, who took piety as emblem
and competed with Sirius in his own dwellingplace
- 17 Everybody in the West has lost his courage, as I see,
and al-Andalus is hoping for your ascent to save them
- 18 And beautiful Granada did call to you: Please come
with your white banner to save the red fortress (Alhambra)
- 19 For all their hopes, it seems, are placed in you
of adult and infant and roundbreasted virgin alike
- *20 So realise this people's hope and grant a wish
and all kinds of favour, happiness and reward will be yours
- *21 Through your splendid appearance they hope they will get harmony
a remedy against discord and a triumphant operation
- *22 So that those who settled in the land of Andalus be faithful
and all people may voluntarily concede to the King (God) the command
- 23 Please – may you always be the protector of the faith –
bring them to us, footsoldiers and horsemen, splendid like hawks
- 24 Protectors, scorning injustice, all glorious generous men
who compete with the rain, the river and the flood
- 25 How much you love the grandson of the prophet
the descendant of his son-in-law ʿAlī, who ranks higher than Saturn
- 26 Abū l-Ḥasan, al-Mawlā al-Sharīf, who shone, the likeness of
the sun of victory over the West, in the desert (Sahara)
- 27 On the horizons of the hearts wonders appeared
by which he, as by magic, robbed their minds
- *28 In his Yanbūʿ his burning wood shone to your grandfather
there he lit his fires and looked for happiness
- *29 His grandfather gave hospitality to a (i. e.: your) grandfather
who became his devoted *wazīr* and sincere support
- *30 In this place your grandfather obtained his renown and enjoyed
eminence, until he neglected his likes
- *31 As well as in places of culture where he liked to be
and at resting-places on journeys and nighttrips
- *32 But your grandfather, knowing good from evil, left his company
and joined the party of God to help it openly
- *33 And he preferred those that respected the Qurʾān, living or dead,
for he helped those present and was their neighbour in the grave
- *34 This was the delightful behaviour of Abū Ibrāhīm
By God, how much he instigated and how lavish was his praise
- *35 As keeper of the hawk he still protects our fronts
and feeds with the enemies' corpses owl and vulture
- 36 He is the falcon (kestrel) whenever all those hung with bells are shaken

- a lion when teeth and claws bite firmly
- 37 He is the helper when for the young men the mill of war turns round
and abundance of rain in case the rainclouds did not let fall a drop
- 38 He attacked the Christians and destroyed them all
he fought them fiercely and made many prisoners
- 39 In Tangier was a good place to die for a group of men who
by their victory hope to be rewarded by the King (God)
- 40 He called them from the nearest Sûs: "Come!" and they saddled
their short-haired brisk reddish-brown horses
- *41 As bands of death they had set out to visit her (Tangier?)
and the love of virtue justified the bitter drink
- *42 Light were they as though birds had begun to carry them
and the moist earth underneath them you thought was filled with embers
- *43 And when he saw the cavalry of the enemy one evening
they transformed into a troop showing joy at their enterprise
- *44 That night they went to sleep in a wadi (?), and in the morning
those were deceived that had not taken precautions in the war
- 45 For those horsemen had attacked while the sun rose
and the enemy had inflicted on God's people heavy losses
- 46 No wonder that those of whom he was one behaved
like lions of Sharâ, for love of whom he gave not in an inch
- 47 Help, Abû Hasan, your neighbour who is
deploring his hardships, and save your Algeciras
- 48 Please come to destroy the tyrants of the unbelievers
and satiate wild animals and vultures with their corpses
- 49 The purpose of the infidel is to put the yoke of slavery upon us
by destruction of our cultivated fields and fruits
- 50 Our houses in every fort and every village
call out to you for help in hardships one after the other
- 51 Keep, with God's help, what still rests of them
for the infidel has nearly succeeded in uprooting this land
- 52 How many weak persons are there, not able to move their bodies
and old men with ages over a hundred and ten
- 53 And young ladies, brown and white like marble statues
and infants in their cradles, not knowing good and bad
- 54 How many pulpits meant for preaching and prayers
and mosques for divine service and reading of the Qur'ân
- 55 And chairs of learning, seats that honest people occupy
to fill our breasts with what enlightens us
- 56 And graves of descendants of the Companions erected there
and all those unkempt saints dressed in rags

- 57 They all call you from afar in the name of closeness and kinship
hurry to us, for the infidel people has exposed us to oppression
- 58 Do a second good service like the one you have done before
so that this Alphonse witnesses your very great effect
- 59 You know very well, praise be to God!
what Muṣṭafâ (Muḥammad) has said on the military expedition
- 60 By God, how splendid: would that I were killed
and then revived and be killed many times over!”
- 61 And the signals/verses in God’s Book (Qur’ân), that came
like the morning sun traveling brightly in a cloudless sky
- 62 Do take them, may God give you guidance, like a virgin whose breasts
diffuse a nice perfume, bringing a good scent to your mansion
- 63 And take from me to the noble lords a greeting
that traveled oversea from al-Andalus to the West
- 64 Help, servants of God, help the other shore, from all sides
struck by misery and intolerably harmed
- 65 For you are our mighty army, we long for you,
please quickly direct your course to us
- 66 Let us praise the best of creatures and the best guide
Muḥammad, sent with the glorious community
- 67 And his family and companions, and those who follow their path
and those whose target is victory for the people of Islam

He has applied himself (may God have mercy on him) to the task that was entrusted to him, and he did what was destined for him and what he could, and thereafter he returned to his country, his home, his roots and his children. When they somewhat later heard that Mawlânâ °Alî al-Sharîf had decided to make the pilgrimage to the sacred house of God and to visit the tomb of his prophet Muḥammad (the best prayer and the purest peace be on him), this matter overpowered them and they were not content with a random figure to replace him. Thus they sent the most illustrious unequalled author and unsurpassed reciter, the eminent writer Abû Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ b. Abî Sharîf al-Rundî (may God have mercy on him), to men venerated by the people of Fez to ask them to show them their sympathy by their legal advice (*fatwâ*) to Mawlânâ °Alî al-Sharîf to help them, from fear that he longed back for his country with his master the shaykh Sîdî Muḥammad b. Abî Ibrâhîm, his helper and supporter. Ṣâliḥ b. Abî Sharîf brought the letters, among them the address, and stood at the door of the Qarawiyyîn-mosque in the Idrissite-town, reciting his following composition:

- 1 Everything declines after reaching perfection, therefore let no man
be beguiled by the sweetness of a pleasant life.¹⁵

There were gathered from the people of Fez religious leaders and learned moslims, like the shaykh, the faqîh, the model, Abû °Abd Allâh al-°Ikrimî, and the shaykh, the preacher of the Al-Andalus-mosque the eminent Abû l-°Hasan Sîdî °Alî Marshîsh, and the faqîh and teacher Abû °Abd Allâh b. Jalâl, and the faqîh Abû °Abd Allâh al-Sarrâj, and the faqîh Abû l-°Abbâs Aḥmad al-Mâwâsî, and the faqîh Abû l-Faḍl Sîdî Râshid b. Râshid al-Walîdî, and the illustrious faqîh Sîdî Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Razzâq al-Jazûlî, and the illustrious venerable fighter (*al-murâbit*) Abû Zayd Sîdî °Abd al-Raḥmân son of the venerable shaykh Sîdî Muḥammad the younger, the man of the *Ruq°a* (or *Raq°a*?) and the faqîh, the blessing, the muftî and chief judge Abû Muḥammad Sîdî °Abd Allâh b. Sîdî Muḥammad b. Mu°ṭî al-°Abdûsî, and the great men of Fez and the popular saints. They wrote a letter to the good fighter (*al-murâbit*) Abû °Abd Allâh Sîdî Muḥammad Sîdî Abû Ibrâhîm, wherein they asked him to try to win the sympathy of Maw-lânâ °Alî al-Sharîf so that he would come to them, to try if it was in his power to cure the fever that had befallen the people of al-Andalus. And he succeeded to let Mawlânâ °Alî al-Sharîf (may God be pleased with him) change his ambition and to direct him to do that. He decided to swallow those dangers and to travel those kingdoms. The divine decree and God's decision, both plunging people into calamities and chasing birds from their nests, triumphed over him and let him be constantly triumphant until God chose for him what befell him and took him into his mercy. Might and power are with God.

- 15 In the mss. only the first verse is cited, because the complete poem of 62 verses had already been given on folio's 45r-46v of ms. L, pp. 65-9 of ms. T. The shorter version of 43 verses of the poem is found in °Alî Ibn Abî Zar° al-Fâsî, *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya fî ta'rikh al-dawla al-marîniyya*, ed. by Mohammed Bencheneb, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, vol. 57, Algiers, 1920, pp. 127-9; in Ibn °Idhârî, *al-Bayân al-mughrib fî akhbâr al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, ed. by A. Huici Miranda, Muḥammad Ibn Tâwit and Muḥammad Ibrâhîm al-Kattânî, vol. 3, 2, Tetuan, 1963, pp. 470-1 (only 18 verses, because the ms. was damaged); in al-Maqqarî, *Azhâr al-riyâd*, I, pp. 47-50; in Aḥmad Abû l-°Abbâs al-Maqqarî, *Nafḥ al-Tîb fî ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭîb*, 8 vols., ed. by Iḥsân °Abbâs, Beirut, 1968, IV, pp. 486-91. Al-Maqqarî added here the remark that more verses were known, but that he did not consider them authentic (pp. 488-9). Text and translation of the short version have been published by J.T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley etc., 1974, pp. 332-7, from which the first verse has been quoted here. °Abd Allâh Kanûn, 'Abû l-Baqâ' al-Rundî wa-kitâbuhu 'al-Wâfî fî nazm al-qawâfî', *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos de Madrid*, 6(1958), 206-20 (Ar.), published from a manuscript in the General Library in Tetuan the lines, with only slight variations, that are in the manuscripts discussed here.

In the *Nuzhat al-ḥādī* the story is, as said, embedded in the history of the ʿAlawite-dynasty. First the genealogy of this family of *sharīfs* is given, and an account of how and why Abū Ibrāhīm of Sijilmāsa brought al-Ḥasan b. Qāsim, the great-grandfather of ʿAlī al-Sharīf, to the Maghrib. This is followed by the biography of ʿAlī al-Sharīf:¹⁶

He was a saintly man, whose prayer was answered, who multiplied religious endowments and pious gifts, a pilgrim and fighter of the Holy War, gifted with high ambition and beneficial behaviour. He travelled once to Fez and lived there a long time, his house was in the quarter known as the Jazā' Abī ʿĀmir on the Andalusian riverbank of Fez. He kept a dwelling there. He also lived some time in the village Ṣafrū, where he left behind landed property and buildings until the present time. And he stayed some time in the place Jaras al-Dīn, at two and a half miles from Sijilmāsa, where he also left (property). He undertook several times the journey to the shore of the peninsula of al-Andalus to wage the Holy War. He stayed there a long time, then he travelled to Sijilmāsa. The people of al-Andalus wrote letters to him to ask him to return and incited him to take care of the Holy War. They explained to him the weakness of the peninsula, that there was no one to mobilize the hearts. At the time he still was with them they had tried to tempt him by offering him to be their king, to pay him homage and to pledge to obey and support him. But being ascetic and pious he disliked all this and turned his gaze off the beauty of this world, may God be pleased with him. I found several letters sent to him by the learned men of Granada, may God make it again a domain of Islām, inciting him to cross the sea to them and to make haste to protect the territory of Islām. They mentioned that all the people of Granada, learned and holy men and military commanders, had imposed upon themselves to pay a large sum of their private capital, over and above the taxes imposed by the sultan, for the sake of the Holy Warriors coming with him from the Maghrib. They adorned him in one of those letters as follows: "To the heroic lion, the pivot of the circle of knights of Islām, the valiant hero, the fierce lion and bold killer, the pious man, the vanguard of the army of the Holy War, the most courageous, the assurer of victory in this land, he who hurries to satisfy the wishes of the lord of the worshippers, Abū l-Ḥasan Mawlānā al-Sharīf". And they wrote to the learned men of Fez to ask them to incite Mawlānā ʿAlī to cross the sea, and the learned men of Fez did so and urged him to hasten to help them. They reminded him of the merit of the Holy War and that it was the best action of

piety. One of the reasons that prevented him from helping the people of Granada was that he had decided to go on pilgrimage. Therefore they said to him in one of the letters: “Replace this intended pilgrimage you have set your mind on and are determined to perform, and cross instead the sea to wage Holy War, for Holy War, may God the Elevated give you luck, has in the opinion of the people in the West better merits than the pilgrimage, as Ibn Rushd, may God bless him, advised when asked. There was extensive discussion on it in his answers and this led him to his opinion about it.” The person who wrote him in the name of all the learned men of Granada was, among others, the shaykh al-Mawwâq, the imâm Abû ʿAbd Allâh b. Sarrâh, the chief judge. Among the shaykhs in Fez who wrote him were the shaykh Abû ʿAbd Allâh al-ʿIkrimî, shaykh of the imâm Ibn Ghâzî, and Abû l-ʿAbbâs al-Mâwâsî, he who explained the *Rawḍ*, and Abû Zayd ʿAbd al-Rahmân al-Raqîʿî (or al-Ruqʿî?), the famous master of poetry, and others, may God be pleased with them, whose name we did not mention to keep it short. In one of those letters they enclosed a famous poem in praise of Mawlânâ ʿAlî al-Sharîf and his eminent companion Abû ʿAbd Allâh Sîdî Muḥammad b. Ibrâhîm al-ʿAmrî (or al-ʿUmarî or al-ʿImrî?). They urged them both to give a positive answer. The poem was composed by the very learned Abû l-Rabîʿ al-Gharnâtî. (Then follows a 52-line poem.) Through these sweet-voiced detailed letters it is known that Mawlânâ ʿAlî al-Sharîf was famous in his time, heading all the people of his country. He was highly esteemed by them, his house was honoured long since and considered leading. He continued (may God have mercy on him and be content with him) indefatigably to do good, striving to obtain obedience and he divided his life between *ḥajj* and *jihâd*.

The biography continues with his exploits in the Sudan and the birth of his sons, later in his life after a long childless period.

Both stories tell the same event, or chain of events, the most important difference being that al-Ifrânî does not mention the poet Abû Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ b. Abî Sharîf al-Rundî and his poem. Neither of the texts contains a date, but al-Nâsirî, after having quoted the poem, said that he thought that the battle of Tangier, to which there are allusions in the poem, was the one fought in 841/1437.¹⁷ This has become the traditional view, adhered to by Henri Terrasse in his *Histoire du Maroc*, although he considered the early history of the ʿAlawite *sharîfs* as very confused, by Abun-Nasr in his *History of the Maghrib* and recently by a textbook on the history of Morocco.¹⁸

17 Al-Nâsirî, *Kitâb al-istiṣâʿ*, 1912, IV, p. 6, transl. 1906, p. 14.

I made it mine in the article I wrote about the manuscripts. On closer inspection, however, the text of the *Takmīl* inspired some doubts about the correctness of the date of ʿAlī al-Sharīf's *jihād*.

The poets Ibn Abī l-Rabīʿ and Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī and the addressed in Fez

In good journalistic work, the questions who, when, where and why must be answered to get a good story. Historians cannot do with less. To begin with, who were the poets named in the *Takmīl*? They had several things in common, besides their Andalusian descent and eminence in their respective fields.

With Ibn Abī l-Rabīʿ al-Gharnāṭī al-Andalusī (*Takmīl*) or Abū l-Rabīʿ al-Gharnāṭī (*Nuzha*) no other person can be meant than Abū l-Husayn ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī l-Rabīʿ. He was born in Sevilla in 599/1202 and was educated in that town.¹⁹ When it was conquered by the Castilians in 646/1248, with active support of Muḥammad I of Granada, he fled to Ceuta, where he lived under the protection of the local rulers, the Banū l-ʿAzafī.²⁰ He had no connection with Granada and did not call himself al-Gharnāṭī, rather al-Ishbīlī, but maybe this al-Gharnāṭī has been added to his name in Morocco or refers to the origin of his family. He was a grammarian of great renown, who passed his life studying and teaching. Although his interest in social life was restricted, he kept up lively contacts with fellow scientists, as witnesses a dispute he had with Mālik b. al-Muraḥḥal, who worked at the court of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Marīnī.²¹ He himself is not known as a poet, but he

18 Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, 2 vols., Casablanca, 1949-50, II, pp. 239-40 and note 1. Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1975, pp. 224-5. Ibrāhīm Harakāt, *al-Maghrib ʿabra al-ta'rikh*, 3 vols., Casablanca, 1405/1985, III, p. 18.

19 Bencheikroun, *La vie intellectuelle*, pp. 123-5. P. Chalmeta, 'Le Barnāmaj d'Ibn Abī l-Rabīʿ', *Arabica*, 15(1986), 183-208.

20 On Ceuta and the Banū l-ʿAzafī see Charles E. Dufourcq, 'La question de Ceuta au XIIIe siècle', *Hespéris*, 42(1955), 67-127, and by the same author *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghreb aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles. De la bataille de Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) à l'avènement du sultan mérinide Abou-l-Hasan (1331)*, Paris, 1966.

21 About the dispute with Mālik b. al-Muraḥḥal, see Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās wa-muḥādathāt al-akyās bi-man uqbira min al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-ṣulahāʾ bi-Fās*, Lith., 3 vols., 1316, Fez, pp. 99-110. For his position at the Marīnid court see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa-dīwān al-mubtadaʾ wa-l-khabar fī ayyām al-ʿArab wa-l-ʿAjam wa-l-Barbar*, Būlāq ed., VII, pp. 198-200.

See also the biography of his brother in law, a citizen of Ceuta, Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr

lived in the circle of poets like this Mâlik b. al-Murāḥḥal, whose origin was in Ceuta. And since every educated man, and a specialist in language in particular, was supposed to write poetry, the art can not have been strange to him. He died in Ceuta in 688/1289.

Abû Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ b. Abî Sharîf al-Rundî must be identical with Abû l-Ṭayyib (or Abû l-Baqâ') Ṣâliḥ b. Sharîf al-Rundî. He was born in Seville in 601/1204, also fled that town in 646/1248 and lived in Ceuta until his death in 684/1285. Ibn al-Khaṭīb included his biography in the *Iḥâta* because he visited the court in Granada several times.²² Ṣâliḥ b. Sharîf al-Rundî wrote a handbook on poetry, quoted lavishly by Ibn al-Khaṭīb. His eternal fame however is based on the *nûniyya*, a poem mourning the sad fate of al-Andalus, cited in the *Takmil* in a longer version than the one that has been transmitted in the *al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, written between 710/1310 and 732/1331, in Ibn 'Idhârî's *al-Bayân al-mughrib*, completed in 712/1312 and by al-Maqqarî.²³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb did not quote this poem. As he was not the man to overlook information that was without any doubt accessible in his time, he must have left it out deliberately.²⁴

The learned men in Fez who were asked to act as intermediaries, nine persons in the *Takmil* and only three in al-Ifrânî's *Nuzha*, offered a way to find out when Ibn Abî l-Rabî' and Ṣâliḥ b. Sharîf al-Rundî fulfilled their missions. Historical treatises on the history of Fez very often contain lists of important functionaries, but unfortunately they show up big gaps for the later 7th/13th century.²⁵ From the *Jadhwat al-iqtibâs fî dhikr man ḥalla min al-a'lam madînat Fâs* by Aḥmad b. al-Qâḍî, which contains a great number

b. 'Abd Allâh b. Mûsâ al-Anṣârî in Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥâta*, I, pp. 334-7. Mâlik b. al-Murāḥḥal was a very distinguished scholar, his student Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm al-Ghâfiqî studied also with Ibn Abî l-Rabî', whom he succeeded as *qâḍî* of Ceuta, see Abû l-Ḥasan 'Alî b. 'Abd Allâh al-Nubâhî, *Kitâb al-marqaba al-'ulyâ fî-man yas-taḥiqqu al-qadâ wa-l-futyâ*, ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo, 1948, pp. 133-4.

22 Brockelmann, *GAL*, S I, p. 860 (nr. 14) and S II, p. 925 (nr. 110). 'Abd Allâh Kanûn, 'Abû l-Baqâ' al-Rundî.' Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥâta*, III, pp. 360-382.

23 See note 15. The dates of the works are taken from Maya Shatzmiller, *L'historiographie Mérinide. Ibn Khaldûn et ses contemporains*, Leiden, 1982.

24 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥâta*, III, p. 382, note, and 'Abd Allâh Kanûn, 'Abû l-Baqâ' al-Rundî', p. 213.

25 Abû l-Walîd Ismâ'il Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Histoire des Benî Merîn, rois de Fâs, intitulée Rawdat en-nisrîn (fî dawlat Banî Marîn)*, ed. by G. Bouali and G. Marçais, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, vol. 55, Paris, 1917. Abû l-Ḥasan 'Alî al-Jaznâ'î, *Zahrât al-âs (La fleur du myrte) traitant de la fondation de la ville de Fès*, ed. by Alfred Bel, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, vol. 59, Algiers, 1923. Aḥmad b. al-Qâḍî al-Maknâsî, *Jadhwat al-iqtibâs fî dhikr man ḥalla min al-a'lam madînat Fâs*, II vols., Rabat, 1973-4, p. 61 (continuous pagination).

of short biographical notices, I learned that most of these respected men did belong indeed to families that had official positions in Fez for generations.²⁶ I could identify one person: the faqîh Abû l-Faql Sîdî Râshid b. Râshid al-Walîdî, mentioned only in the *Takmîl*. He wrote a book: *Al-ḥalâl wa-l-ḥarâm* (Lawful and unlawful) and was a specialist on the *Mudawwana*. He died in 675 (between 15-6-1276 and 4-6-1277).²⁷

This establishes a date *ante quem*. So now it is appropriate to look at the historical circumstances in Morocco and in al-Andalus around this time.

The historical background²⁸

In Morocco the Marînid-dynasty had replaced the Almohads. The reigning sultan, Abû Yûsuf Ya°qûb (656-685 /1258-1286), succeeded in stabilizing his kingdom after many campaigns in all parts of its territory.²⁹ In the course of this warfare he twice laid siege to the town of Tangier: the first, fruitless, siege took place in 665/1267,³⁰ but the second time, in 672/1273, he succeeded in conquering it from its ruler, Abû l-Qâsim al-°Azafî of Ceuta. He also brought Ceuta itself under his domination, and although the town kept a measure of independance, this gave him easy access to al-Andalus.³¹ His most dangerous opponent was Yaghmurâsan b. Zayyân b. °Abd al-Wâdd. After many campaigns against him he besieged his stronghold Si-jilmâsa in 673/1274, making use of a kind of guns, a fact that thus far has not attracted much attention.³² After the surrender of the town Yaghmu-

26 See for instance for al-°Ikrîmî, *Jadhwa*, pp. 239, 243; for Marshîsh, *Jadhwa*, p. 406; for Jalâl, *Jadhwa*, pp. 324-5; for Sarrâj/Sarrâh, *Jadhwa*, p. 123; for al-Mâwâsî, *Jadhwa*, pp. 126, 131, 502 and Bencheikroun, *La vie intellectuelle*, p. 421; for al-Jazûlî, *Jadhwa*, pp. 401-2 and 554 and also al-Nubâhî, *al-Marqaba al-°ulyâ*, pp. 135-6. Most of them lived earlier or much later.

27 *Jadhwa*, pp. 196-7.

28 For the general background I used Rachel Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1990. L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*. Chicago and London, 1990. Very useful was also H.L. Beck, *Idrîs de kleine en de Idrîsidische shurafâ' in Fâs tijdens de Marînieden*, (Diss.) Leiden, 1984, translated as Herman L. Beck, *L'image d'Idrîs II, ses descendants de Fâs et la politique sharîfienne des sultans marînides (656-869/1258-1465)*, Leiden, 1989.

29 His biography in °Alî Ibn Abî Zar° al-Fâsî, *al-Anîs al-mu°trib bi-rawd al-qirtâs fi akhbâr mulûk al-maghrib wa-ta°rikh madînat Fâs*, Rabat, 1973, pp. 297-9, followed by his exploits in Morocco and in al-Andalus.

30 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, p. 130; not in the *Rawd al-qirtâs*.

31 For the second siege of Tangier and the surrender of Ceuta, see *al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, pp. 155-7 and *Rawd al-qirtâs*, pp. 311-2.

râsan made peace with him and retired to Tlemcen, but was always ready to conspire against him. Then at last Abû Yûsuf Ya^cqûb felt free to devote himself to the *jihâd* in al-Andalus and crossed the sea four times for that purpose.³³

Granada also had a new dynasty, the Banû l-Aḥmar or Naṣrids, in the process of establishing itself after disastrous wars that had led to the loss of many important towns.³⁴ The founder of the dynasty, Muḥammad I (629-71/1232-73), had to face many difficulties. Especially the revolt of the Mudejars caused a severe crisis. In 662/1264, in several Castilian towns (but not everywhere) the Mudejars, Muslims living under Christian rule, rebelled against their Christian overlord with the support of the sultan of Granada. This meant of course war between Granada and Castile, in the course of which Muḥammad got help from Morocco, not from the sultan but from private fighters.³⁵ Finally the revolt was broken by the Castilians and ended in disaster for the Mudejars. The conflict between Granada and Castile was brought to an end by a treaty, negotiated by Muḥammad's son and heir, with the Castilian king Alfonso X el Sabio.

After the death of Muḥammad I, Muḥammad II (671-701/1273-1302) had a difficult start, as "a sea of revolt overflowed him", in the words of Ibn al-Khaṭīb.³⁶ His main opponents were the Banû Ashqîlûla. They had been associates of the Naṣrids from the outset, acting as commanders of the army and tied to them by marriage bonds. Their basis was in Málaga, Guadix and Gomares.³⁷ Muḥammad I had already tried to break their

32 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, pp. 157-9. *Rawḍ al-qirtâs*, pp. 312-3. See also Aafje Heuvink, *Sidjilmâsa, een verdwenen stad*, Groningen, 1987, pp. 71-2, Ibn Khaldûn, *Ibar*, VII, pp. 188-9 and R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes*, Leyden, 1881, II, p. 774 s. v. *handama*. I.-S. Allouche, 'Un texte relatif aux premiers canons,' *Hespéris*, 32(1945), 81-4, quoted the conclusion of earlier authors that Ibn Khaldûn had committed an anachronism in this case, not being aware that almost contemporaneous texts confirm this story.

33 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, p. 159. *Rawḍ al-qirtâs*, pp. 312-3.

34 The main source for the history of this period is Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Lamḥa al-badriyya fi l-dawla al-Naṣriyya*, ed. by Muḥibb al-Dîn al-Khaṭīb, 3rd ed., Beirut, 1980, pp. 42-60. Biographies of Muḥammad I and II in the *Iḥâta*, II 92-101 and I 564-74. On the value of Ibn al-Khaṭīb as historian, see Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 28-9.

35 Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 33. María Jesús Rubiera de Epalza, 'Los Banû Escallola, la dinastía que no fue,' *Andalucía Islámica*, vol. 2-3(1983), 85-94, p. 89.

36 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥâta*, I, p. 565.

37 Lisân al-Dîn b. al-Khaṭīb, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane extraite du Kitâb a^cmâl al-a^clâm*, ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat, 1934, pp. 330-6, translated by I.S.Allouche, 'La révolte des Banû Ashqîlûla contre le sultan Nasrite Muḥammad II d'après le *Kitâb a^cmâl al-a^clâm* d'Ibn al-Khaṭīb,' *Hespéris*, 25(1938), 1-11. The

power, but Muḥammad II, who for unknown reasons hated them, eschewed no means to reach this goal. He even accepted help from Alfonso X and did not hesitate to take advantage of revolting Castilian noblemen.

So there existed a complicated web of alliances and counter-alliances between four parties in al-Andalus: the sultan of Granada, the king of Castile, the Banû Ashqîlûla and the Castilian rebels, and three parties in Morocco: the Marînid sultan, Yaghmurâsan b. ʿAbd al-Wâdd of Tlemcen and the Banû l-ʿAzafî of Ceuta. Abû Yûsuf Yaʿqûb's participation in the Holy War, although eagerly solicited, was looked upon with suspicion in Granada.

Who commissioned the poems and why

Within this framework we must consider the appeal to Abû ʿAbd Allâh Muḥammad b. Abî Ibrâhîm and ʿAlî al-Sharîf to come to the rescue of al-Andalus. From the text of the *Takmîl* it appears that it must have been a private affair and not one of the many appeals of the Banû l-Aḥmar to Abû Yûsuf Yaʿqûb. That the poem was not written by the court poet confirms this.³⁸ To pay *jihâd*-fighters, as suggested in the *Nuzha*, was common practice until the point of arousing jealousy, as even their Christian opponents knew.³⁹ The *Nuzha* states that the ʿulamâ' of Granada were behind this move and suggests that there existed an opposition to the sultan looking for another ruler to take his place. As there were revolts, this might be true. There certainly existed an opposition, and that it had adherents even in Granada itself is likely, but not confirmed by the sources.

The unknown inviters wanted a *sharîf* and not a random person to help them. In this period the Marînid sultan Abû Yûsuf Yaʿqûb had become aware of the use he could make of the prestige of *sharîfs* and had a *sharîf*

biographies of ʿAbd Allâh b. ʿAlî (second generation) in *Ihâta*, III, pp. 382-3, and of his brother's son ʿAbd Allâh b. Ibrâhîm (third generation) in *Ihâta*, III, pp. 376-9. The biography of this brother Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm b. ʿAlî (second generation) is referred to, but is lacking in the printed edition. See also Rubiera, 'Los Banû Escallola'. Ibn Khaldûn, *ʿIbar*, gives somewhat different information, which is taken account of by Allouche in his translation.

38 Ibn Khaldûn, *ʿIbar*, VII, pp. 198-200 mentions an exchange of poems by Abû Fâris ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz and Mâlik b. al-Murâḥḥal (see on him note 21) as court poets of Abû Yûsuf Yaʿqûb, and Abû ʿUmar b. al-Murâbiṭ as the court poet of Muḥammad II b. al-Aḥmar.

39 Rubiera, 'Los Banû Escallola', p. 89.

with him on *jihād* to profit from his *baraka*.⁴⁰ Also in al-Andalus the legitimacy of the rulers was enhanced by their religious image.⁴¹ Muḥammad I had the cognomen *al-shaykh*, Muḥammad II was called *al-faqīh*. The Banū Ashqīlūla had in 666/1267-8 even caused a crisis in Málaga by embracing a heretic, Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī, who ended his days on a cross in Granada.⁴² It is, therefore, not exceptional that such an appeal was directed to a man with religious authority. But neither in the official Marīnid chronicles of the time nor in the unofficial history is there any trace of these particular persons or their actions.⁴³ There is only the report on al-Tāhurtī, who went to al-Andalus to mediate (in vain) between the sultan and the Banū Ashqīlūla in 669/1270-1, but about his identity we are not informed.⁴⁴

The characteristics of the poem of Ibn Abī l-Rabīʿ show that it has been written for a special occasion. It is a historical poem describing historical events. As such it is very different in tone from the elegiac poetry of Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī and of other comparable poems of the time. But which historical events are described? Tangier is mentioned twice. In verses 12-13 it is referred to in combination with fighting the Christians. When this happened is unclear, it might be a reference to an unknown assault by a Christian army, one of the many raids that took place. The verses 39-46 are even more vague, they might as well reflect a Christian attack as one of the sieges by the Marīnid sultan. As to the events in al-Andalus, there are two periods that might be considered as possible occasions for the poem, the first around 662/1264, and the second around 671/1273.

The first date is connected with the revolt of the Mudejars in Castile in 662/1264 and its sequels, when even Granada itself, being their ally, was threatened.⁴⁵ But if we assume that the reference to Tangier is to a Marīnid siege, it cannot have been before end 665/1267. It is conceivable that Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī wrote his famous poem at the occasion of this very severe

40 Beck, *Idrīs de kleine*, pp. 154 and 139.

41 Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 26-31 stresses the religious base of the Naṣrid sultans and their state.

42 Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 34-5, based on Aḥmad al-Qashtālī, *Tuḥfat al-mughtarib bi-bilād al-maghrib fī karāmāt al-shaykh Abī Marwān*, ed. by Fernando de la Granja under the title *Milagros de Abū Marwān al-Yuhānisi*, Madrid, 1974, p. 81. About *faqīhs* who fled Málaga see Rubiera, 'Los Banū Escallola', p. 94, based on al-Nubāhī, *al-Marqaba al-ʿulyā*, pp. 127-8 and 137-8.

43 Besides the official chronicles like the *al-Dhakhīra al-saniyya* and the *Rawḍ al-qirtās* I consulted Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, III 2, and the anonymous *Ma-fākhīr al-Barbar*, ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat, 1934.

44 *Al-Dhakhīra al-saniyya*, p. 142.

45 Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane*, p. 65. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 51-4.

crisis. Nowhere in the sources a date is given for this poem, but it might be no coincidence that in two major Moroccan chronicles of the period, the *al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya* and the *al-Bayân al-mughrib*, it is cited in connection with the treaty between Alfonso X and Muḥammad I in 665/1266-7. Muḥammad I sacrificed more than a hundred fortified places in order to outmanoeuver the Banû Ashqîlûla.⁴⁶ That this cynical policy was not understood and led to severe criticism by the theologians is only what could have been expected. And it explains why Ibn al-Khaṭīb left out this poem in his biography of Ṣâliḥ b. Sharîf al-Rundî : he did not want to remind his principals of this shameful behaviour.

The second period of acute crisis in al-Andalus was after the death in 671/Jan 1273 of sultan Muḥammad I. Muḥammad II, who already had been the architect of the scandalous treaty concluded in 665, was again negotiating with the king of Castile. Algeciras (mentioned in the poem) was, as always, one of the potential prizes for the Castilian king. Muḥammad II's relation with the Banû Ashqîlûla was very tense, they had every reason not to trust him. The reference to the siege of Tangier would in that case have been to the second siege in 672/1273. This one is described in the Moroccan chronicles with many details.⁴⁷ After a three month's siege Abû Yûsuf Ya'qûb was on the point of giving up when suddenly at nightfall a group of archers betrayed their lord and let the besiegers enter the town. There was a carnage during the night, in the morning soldiers and civilians keeping their weapons hidden got a safe-conduct. The poem seems to refer rather to a skirmish that took place outside the town, but the information given is difficult to interpret. Since Ibn Abî l-Rabî' lived in Ceuta, he might have had information from people present in Tangier with Abû l-Qâsim b. al-ʿAzafi.

In 673/1275, both the sultan of Granada and the Banû Ashqîlûla asked Abû Yûsuf Ya'qûb for help by means of letters and poems describing the miserable situation in al-Andalus.⁴⁸ The *al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya* has preserved much of this poetry. Even Ibn Khaldûn, who usually did not ornate his story with poems, made an exception in this case, indicating that there was something special or new about it.⁴⁹

46 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, p. 127 and *al-Bayân al-mughrib*, III 2, pp. 470-1.

47 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, pp. 155-7 and *Rawḍ al-qirtâs*, pp. 311-2.

48 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, pp. 159-65 and *Rawḍ al-qirtâs*, p. 313.

49 The poem by Abû ʿUmar b. al-Murâbit, Muḥammad II's court poet, is given *in extenso* by Ibn Khaldûn, *Ibar*, VII, pp. 198-200 (ed. Beirut 1968, VII, pp. 409-14).

The first verse is cited by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Ihâta*, I, pp. 570-1, he calls the poet Abû

ʿAmr. Of the other poems only the first verses are given by Ibn Khaldûn.

Abû Yûsuf Ya^cqûb, after having subdued Sijilmâsa, answered the call and travelled to Salé to make preparations for the *jihâd*. During this time, Abû l-Qâsim b. al-^cAzafî came to Fez to join him. Abû Yûsuf Ya^cqûb came in haste to that town, gave him audience and sent him back to Ceuta to prepare ships for the crossing.⁵⁰ It is tempting to think that Ibn al-^cAzafî had Şâlih b. Sharîf al-Rundî in his suite and that it was at this occasion that he recited his poem at the door of the Qarawiyyîn-mosque. There is also a report that many *faqîhs* and *şulahâ'* of Ceuta came to Fez in the suite of the sons of al-^cAzafî in 674/1275-6 to congratulate Abû Yûsuf Ya^cqûb with his successful expedition in al-Andalus. Again Şâlih b. Sharîf al-Rundî might have been among them.⁵¹ But as there are no precise data, these are no more than fantasies about what might have been.

The question which of the parties involved in the problems of al-Andalus had asked Ibn Abî l-Rabî^c and Şâlih b. Sharîf al-Rundî to address ^cAlî al-Sharîf cannot be answered with the available information. It was most probably not a party in favour of Muḥammad II, either as heir apparent or as king, but how many opponents he had is not known, thanks to the considerate reports of Ibn al-Khaṭīb. The Banû Ashqîlûla are of course suitable candidates, since their position was at times very delicate. But there might have been other groups of discontented people as well. It is remarkable that both poets concerned lived at the time in Ceuta. Could Abû l-Qâsim b. al-^cAzafî have had a hand in it, or was it sheer coincidence, one wonders.

The author of the *Nuzha* and the identity of ^cAlî al-Sharîf and Abû ^cAbd Allâh Muḥammad b. Abî Ibrâhîm

The text in the *Takmîl* contains very little information about ^cAlî al-Sharîf and his companion Abû ^cAbd Allâh Muḥammad b. Abî Ibrâhîm and none about their exploits in al-Andalus. Ibn Abî Ibrâhîm is described as leader of the Mecca caravan. About ^cAlî nothing is said besides that he was pious, comparable to a lion and that he did what he was asked to do. Where he lived, what he did, it is all very mysterious. From the poem we can gather more information. There was a connection with Sijilmâsa, a source of the true faith (verse 7). According to the tradition it was the place where Abû ^cAbd Allâh Muḥammad b. Abî Ibrâhîm lived and where the poem consequently was to be delivered. His grandfather visited Yanbû^c in the Hejaz,

50 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, p. 159 and Ibn Khaldûn, *ʿIbar*, VII, p. 189.

51 *Al-Dhakhîra al-saniyya*, p. 185.

the dwelling place of the descendants of °Alî, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and after a life of pleasure he converted to a devote way of living (verses 28-34). Abû °Abd Allâh himself loved Abû l-Hasan °Alî, al-Mawlâ al-Sharîf, descendant of the Prophet (verses 25-6), he fought fiercely against the Christians to protect the faith (verses 13-4 and 38) and went to help defend Tangier (verse 12). °Alî al-Sharîf was asked to rescue the Andalusians of imminent danger (verse 17), was urged to save Algeciras (verse 47), undertook an expedition to Tangier (verses 39-46), and the people of Granada appealed to him to bring back harmony, which is an indication of internal conflicts (verses 18-23).

We must look now to the *Nuzhat al-hâdi* of al-Ifrânî. His story is much more detailed, but is it reliable? As we have seen, his sources were letters that no longer are available, and which he quotes in a manner that differs very much from the *Takmîl*. When we compare his version of the poem with the longer one in the *Takmîl*, taking as basis the sequence of the *Nuzha* and the verse-numbers of the *Takmîl*, we get the following result: 1-9, a combination of 10/25, 26-27, 36-40, 45-47, 10-19, 23-24, 49, 48, 50, 52-56, 57a, 57b, 58-67. The verses 20-23, 28-35 and 41-44 are missing, respectively a reference to civil war in al-Andalus, the story of Yanbû° and part of the story of Tangier. There are many textual variants, especially in the places where the sequence is different. The difference in sequence must be considered as deliberate and cannot be due to the mistakes of a copyist. A copyist might have missed a few lines (that happened indeed in manuscript L), or he might have exchanged whole pages. The effect of the changed sequence is that most of the poem is now about °Alî al-Sharîf, the verses that in the longer version are clearly connected with Abû Ibrâhîm now being tied to °Alî.

It is my theory that the *Takmîl* has the (most) correct version, and that al-Ifrânî carefully rearranged the poem. He wanted to write a history of the beginnings of the °Alawite dynasty in Morocco, and since he had only a very few data he made a mix of popular legend connected with certain places of worship, genealogical science and this poem. His problem was that the approved genealogy taken from reliable authors was too short.⁵² Between the sultan al-Sharîf, who reigned from 1041-5/1631-5 and °Alî al-Sharîf there were only four generations. Therefore, he placed °Alî al-Sharîf and Muḥammad b. Abî Ibrâhîm in the 9th/15th century, though he is careful

52 G. Salmon, 'Les Chorfa Filâla et Djilâla de Fès. D'après Ibn at-Ṭayyib Al-Qâdirî,' *Archives Marocaines*, 3(1905), 97-118, with genealogical tables.

not to give any date. Every trace of earlier events had to be removed, and as he was familiar with the relevant sources, he knew what to leave out. The story of Yanbûc is such a case, because it is clearly said that the grandfather of Ibn Abî Ibrâhîm went to Yanbûc, which is conflicting with the advent in the Maghrib of the great-grandfather of ʿAlî al-Sharîf in the 7th/13th century. The verses about Tangier were abridged and the losses were changed into a successful action. I guess that Şâlih b. Sharîf al-Rundî's reputation was another problem, and since his poem does not contain precise historical information, it could be left out. That was different in the case of Ibn Abî l-Rabîc's poem, for that was an important unknown source. Many details in ʿAlî al-Sharîf's biography are taken from the poem, even from the suppressed verses. Maybe this Ibn Abî l-Rabîc, whose name was not given correctly, had been forgotten in the 18th century so that it was not obvious that he could not have written a poem about men that lived more than a century after his death. Other details in the biography might be authentic, for instance about the money that was set apart for the warriors. But that ʿAlî al-Sharîf was offered to be king sounds unlikely.

The person of Abû ʿAbd Allâh al-Sarrâj must also be considered as part of al-Ifrânî's attempt to adapt the facts to his view. This man is named by the *Takmil* among the *faqîhs* of Fez whereas al-Ifrânî (the text edition of the *Nuzha* has al-Sarrâh, the translation al-Sarh, but as evidently the same person is meant that might be due to a misreading of the manuscript) places him in Granada as *shaykh al-Mawwâq* and chief judge. Of course al-Ifrânî knew the history of Granada and the role of the Banû l-Sarrâj in the civil wars of the 9th/15th century. He might have had that in mind when he created the image of the theologians of Granada inviting a *sharîf* in order to save the country from chaos. But the Banû l-Sarrâj were not prominent in the 7th/13th century. The name *al-Mawwâq* is mentioned several times in a Moroccan context, but what it means or stands for has remained hidden so far. The translator of al-Nâsirî suggested that it was an educational institution by rendering *shaykh al-mawwâq* as professor of al-Mawwâq.⁵³

To look at it the other way round, is it conceivable that the author of the *Takmil*, al-Qanṭrî al-Qaṣrî, used the *Nuzha* or an unknown comparable source as his basis to rewrite the poem to fit his view of history? In that case, he would have had to invent many new verses. Specialists of poetry might try to analyse which poem is the most coherent from the point of

53 Art. Ibn al-Sarrâdj by J.D.Latham in *El* 2. For Sarrâj/Sarrâh see Ibn al-Qâḍî, *Jadhwa*, p.124 and for *mawwâq* the same pp. 106 and 517, 319 and 517-8. al-Nâsirî, *Kitâb al-istiṣâʾ*, the translation by Fumey in *Archives Marocaines*, 9(1906), p. 9.

view of style. It might be argued that this author invented the appeal by Şâlih b. Sharîf al-Rundî, but even if that is the case, still two data are pointing to the 7th/13th century. Al-Ifrânî is supposed to have had a motive to construct an adapted version, whereas the main concern of al-Qanṭrî al-Qaşrî seems to have been to give more complete versions of already known poetry. In the case of Şâlih b. Sharîf al-Rundî the result is doubtful, the new lines do not have the same force as the traditional ones. In the case of Ibn Abî l-Rabî° he has offered the better version as far as I can see. If this is accepted, the history of the °Alawite dynasty can be traced back to the 7th/13th century, but at the cost of a large gap in the genealogy in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Appendix: Arabic text

ومما خاطب به الشيخ العلامة شيخ الاسلام ابن ابي الربيع الاندلسي الغرناطي الشيخ
 الصالح المجاهد × الورع الزاهد × شيخ الركب النبوي لحج بيت الله الحرام × وزيارة ضريح
 نبيه محمد عليه افضل الصلاة وازكى السلام × سيدي محمد بن الشيخ الولي الصالح الزكي
 سيدي ابي ابراهيم رحمه الله يسمع صاحبه الضرغام × مولانا عليا الشريف الهمام ×
 القصيدة التي بعثوا بها اليهما في مدحهما وهى هذه على الوفاء والتمام ×

١	ايا راكبا يطوى المفاوز والقفرا	رشدت ولقيت السلامة والخيرا
٢	ترحل وجد السير يوما وليلة	وسافر تجد ما فى مطالعها زهرا
٣	تحمل حماك الله منى الى الحمى	تحية مشتاق تهيجه الذكر
٤	وام ديار الحى من سجلماسة	فتلك ديار تجمع العز والفخرا
٥	وسلم على تلك الخيام واهلها	سلام محب لم يطق عنهم صبورا
٦	فعندى لهم حب سرى فى جوارحى	وما زاج منى العظم والدم والشعرا
٧	فتلك بقاع الدين والخير والهدى	فكم مرتقى فى سماها سمي بدرا ×
٨	هم القوم لا يشقى بهم جلساؤهم	يضوع عبير الزهر من بينهم نشرا
٩	وقل يا اهيل القبلة السادة الاولى	اذا ما دعوا فى حادث اسرعوا النفرا
١٠	وخص ابا عبد الاله ولذ به	به تجلب السراء فى حادث الضرا
١١	سليل ابي اسحاق اكرم به ابا	لقد خلف الفرع الزكى الرضى × البرا
١٢	اليس الذى لبي ندا اهل طنجة	وجمع اهل الغرب من حينه طرا
١٣	واوقع بالكفار اى وقية	فمن لم يمت بالسيف مات لها ذعرا
١٤	واصبح ثغر الدين اشنب باسم	وارهق وجه الكفر من حزن قترا
١٥	ونال من الله السعادة والرضى	وجنة عدن فى المعاد له ذخرا
١٦	وقل ايها العدل الذى اتخذ التقى	شعرا وسامى فى منازلها الشعرا
١٧	ارى كل من فى الغرب اصبح قاطنا ×	واندلس ترجوا بطلعتك النصرا
١٨	وغرنة الغراء نادتك اقبلن	برايتك البيضاء كى تنصر الحمرا
١٩	فسكانها وقف عليك رجاؤهم	كبيرهم والطفل والكاعب العذرا
٢٠	فحقق رجاء القوم واسمح بطلب	تحز كل فضل والسعادة والاجرا
٢١	بغرتك الغراء يرجون الفة	واصلاح ذات البين والنصر والسيرا
٢٢	ويا من من فى ارض اندلس ثوى	ويذعن كل الناس للملك الامرا
٢٣	فجئنا بهم لا زلت للدين حاميا	رجالا وفرسانا غظارفة غرا
٢٤	حماة اباة الضيم من كل ماجد	كريم يبارى الغيث والسيل والسجرا
٢٥	كحبكم سبط النبى بن صهره	على الذى يعلوا على زحل قدرا
٢٦	ابى الحسن المولى الشريف الذى به	على الغرب شمس النصر اشرق بالصحرا
٢٧	ولاحت بافاق القلوب عجائب	بها سلب الالباب تحسبها سحرا
٢٨	بينبوعه بانث لجدك جذوه	بها اقتسب الانوار والتمس السرا
٢٩	وأوى بجده فغدى له	وزيرا باخلاص وشده ازرا
٣٠	هنالك نال العز جدك واستمى	سماء التقى حتى باضرا به ازرا
٣١	وفى حضر يحلوا به متبركا	وفى سفر حين الم قيل وفى المسرا
٣٢	وجدكم الفاروق فارق حزبه	ورافق حزب الله ينصره جهرا
٣٣	وأثر ذا الفرقان حيا وميتا	فآزره دنيا وجاوره قبرا
٣٤	كذا ابو ابراهيم مع حسن الرضى	قلله ما اغرا عليه وما اطرا
٣٥	وما زال ذا الخطريف يحمى ثغورنا	ويطعم من هام العدا الهام والنسرا
٣٦	هو الصقر مهمى اهتز كل مجلجل	هزبر اذا ما انشب الناب والظفرا
٣٧	هو البقوت ان دارت رحى الحرب للفتى	وغيث اذا ما المزن ما امطرت قطرا

٣٨	اغار على العلاج فاجتاح جمعها	وجد لهم قتلا وشد لهم اسرا
٣٩	بطنجة قد طاب الممات لزمرة	بنصرتها ترجوا من الملك الاجرا
٤٠	دعاها بادنى السوس قوموا فاسرجوا	من الصافنات الجرد عادية شقرا
٤١	فسارت سرايا للمنايا تزورها	وحب المزايا سوغ الشرب المرا
٤٢	خفافا كان الطير اضحت تقلها	وخلت الثرى من تحتها ملئت جمرا
٤٣	ولما راي خيل العدو عشية	غدت عنقا تبدوا على سيرها البشرى
٤٤	وفي ليلها امست بواى فاصبحت	وقد خاب من فى الحرب لم ياخذ الحذرا
٤٥	فهبت ركاب القوم والشمس اشرقت	وارهق اهل الله اعداؤه خسرا
٤٦	ولا عجب ان الاولى هو منهم	ليوث الشرى ان عاد من حبيها شبيرا
٤٧	اجر جارك اللهفان من غمراته	ابا حسن وانصر جزيرتك الخضرا
٤٨	فيا لك للكفار تفنى طغاتهم	وتشبع من قتلاهم الوحش والطيرا
٤٩	لقد طمع الكفار ملك رقابنا	باهلاكهم فى ارضنا الحرث والثمرا
٥٠	منازلنا من كل حصن وقرية	تناديك غوثا من خطوط اتت تترا
٥١	تدارك بعون الله منها بقية	فقد كاد ان يستاصل الكفر ذا البرا
٥٢	وكم من ضعيف لا حراك بجسمه	وشيخ بها اربى على مائة عشرا ×
٥٣	وسمر وببيض من اوانس كالدماء	وصبية مهد لا تعى النفع والضرا
٥٤	ومنبر جمع للخطابة والدعا	ومسجد دين للصلاة وللأقرا
٥٥	وكرسى علم مقعد لمهذب	تصدر يملى ما يضىء لنا الصدرا
٥٦	واجداث ابناء الصحابة فوقها	وكل ولى الشعث لابس طمرا
٥٧	تناديك من بُعد لقرب وقربة	اجرنا فاهل الكفر قد اظهروا الجورا ×
٥٨	وثن باخرى مثل تلك التى مضت	ليبصر هذا الفنش فعلتك الكبرا
٥٩	وانتم بحمد الله تدرون ما اتى	على المصطفى فى الغزو من خبر خبرا
٦٠	فله ما اسنى وددت لو اننى	قتلت فاحيا ثم اقتل كم مرا
٦١	وما فى كتاب الله من اية اتت	كشمس الضحى فى الصحو سافرة غرا
٦٢	فخذها هداك الله عذراء جيبها	يضوع شذا تهدي لمغناكم عطرا
٦٣	وتبلغ عنى للكرام تحية	من اندلس للغرب قد عبرت بحرا
٦٤	فغوثا عباد الله غوثا لعدوة	احاطت بها الباساء واشتدت الضرا
٦٥	فانتم لنا الجند القوى ونحوكم	تشوفنا فاستعجلوا نحونا السيرا
٦٦	ونثنى على خير البرية والهدى	محمد المبعوث بالمة اليسرا
٦٧	وأل وصحب ثم تال لنهجم	ومن لذوى الاسلام من قصد النصرا

× ٧ ذكرنا Corrected in margin from

×١١ Not in L.

×١٧ as in the Nuzha fits better. قانطا

×٥٢ Not in L.

×٥٧ Not in L.

وقد توجه رحمه الله لما ندب اليه × وفعل منه ما قدر له وقدر عليه × وأب بعد ذلك لبلاده ×
 ووطنه وأصله وأولاده × ولما سمعوا بعد ذلك بمدة بان مولانا عليا الشريف قد عزم على حج
 بيت الله الحرام × وزيارة ضريح نبيه محمد عليه افضل الصلاة وازكى السلام × صالهم
 الامر × وما قنعوا فى ذلك عوضا منه بزياد ولا عمرو × فوجهوا الامجد الذى فى الانشاء لا
 يجارى × وفى الانشاد لا يبارى × وهو الاديب الفاضل ابو محمد صالح بن ابى شريف
 الرندى رحمه الله مستحرمين باهل فاس يستعطفون لهم بفتواهم مولانا عليا الشريف
 لينصروهم خوفاً حنينه لوطنه مع صاحبه الشيخ سيدى محمد بن ابى ابراهيم زنده وعضده

فبلغ صالح بن ابي شريف الكتاب × وفيهم الخطاب × ووقف بباب جامع القرويين من
المدينة الادريسية منشدا من انشائه ما نصه ×××

فلا يغربطيب العيش انسان

١ لكل شيء اذا ما تم نقصان

الى اخرها فاجتمع من اهل فاس ائمة الدين و علماء المسلمين كالشيخ الفقيه القدوة ابي عبد
الله العكرمي والشيخ الخطيب بجامع الاندلس الفاضل ابي الحسن سيدي علي مرشيش
والفقيه المدرس ابي عبد الله بن جلال والفقيه ابي عبد الله السراج والفقيه ابي العباس
احمد الماواسي والفقيه ابي الفضل سيدي راشد بن راشد الوليدي والفقيه الاجل سيدي
محمد بن عبد الرزاق الجزولي والفقيه الاجل الصالح المرباط ابي زيد سيدي عبد الرحمان
بن الشيخ الصالح سيدي محمد المدعو الصغير صاحب الرقعة والفقيه البركة المفتي قاضي
القضاة ابي محمد سيدي عبد الله بن سيدي محمد بن معطي العبدوسي وكبراء فاس
وصلحاء الناس وكتبوا للمرباط الخير ابي عبد الله سيدي محمد سيدي ابي ابراهيم كتابا
يرغبون اليه فيه ان يستعطف مولانا عليا الشريف لياتي اليهم عسى ان يكون على يده
كشف ما نزل باهل الاندلس من الحمى فصرف مولانا عليا الشريف رضى الله عنه همته
ووجه وجهته لذلك × وعزم على التهام تلك المهالك × وسلوك تلك الممالك × فغلب عليه
القضاء والقدر الموقعان في المكاره × والمنفران الطير عن اوكاره × واستمر به حال غلبته ×
الى ان اختار الله له ما لديه ونقله الى رحمته × والحول والقوة بالله ×

L'ÉLITE SAVANTE ANDALOUSE À FÈS (XV^{ème} ET XVI^{ème} SIÈCLES)

BY
FERNANDO R. MEDIANO
CSIC, Madrid

Le 11 rabî^c al-awwal 1012/20 août 1603, le sultan sa^cdien Aḥmad al-Manṣûr mourut à Fès, victime d'une épidémie de cholère. Cette mort ouvra une période de crise politique au Maroc, dûe à la longue guerre déclenchée entre les fils et successeurs d'al-Manṣûr, et les différents pouvoirs locaux qui ont émergés à cette époque, comme la *zâwiya* de Dilâ', le marabout al-^cAyyâshî ou le mouvement méssianique commandé par Ibn Abî Maḥallî. Cette crise ne se fermara qu'en 1666, date de la conquête de Fès par Mûlây al-Rashîd et qui marque la fin de l'ascension de la dynastie ^calawite au pouvoir.

L'histoire de ce demi-siècle au Maroc reste encore quelque peu obscure, à cause de l'extrême fluidité et rapidité des transformations politiques et au réaménagement constant des équilibres sociaux. Dans cette situation changeante, la ville de Fès constitue l'un des points d'observation privilégiés pour la compréhension de l'ensemble du processus, en tant que premier centre urbain marocain à cette époque. Bien que la capitale du royaume ait été transférée à Marrakech par les sultans sa^cdiens, Fès constituait encore le plus important noyau intellectuel maghrébin, grâce surtout à ce que Jacques Berque appelait "l'École de Fès",¹ c'est-à-dire, un groupe de *ulamâ'* détenteurs d'une longue tradition savante, et doués de mécanismes de reproduction très caractéristiques. Cette tradition avait été en quelque sorte "institutionnalisée" par l'action des sultans mérinides, dont le caractère de bâtisseurs de *madrasa*-s est bien connu.² Vers la fin de l'époque mérinide, Fès est le foyer de tout un réseau pédagogique dont le centre est la mosquée de Qarawiyyîn, et qui est soutenu par un groupe de savants qui vont devenir une sorte d'"aristocratie" à l'intérieur de la ville. L'évolution de ce groupe pendant le XVI^e siècle et au début du XVII^e

1 J. Berque, 'Ville et université. Aperçu sur l'histoire de l'école de Fès', *Revue Historique du Droit Français et Étranger*, 1949, 64-116.

2 M. Shatzmiller, 'Les premiers mérinides et le milieu religieux de Fès: l'introduction des médersas', *Studia Islamica*, 43(1976), 109-118; M. Al-Qablî, 'Qaḍiyyat al-madâris al-marîniyya: mulḥazât wa-ta'ammulât', *Fî l-naḥḍa wa-l-tarâkum*, (v. a.), Casa-blanca, 1986, 47-63.

siècle doit être étudiée comme partie d'un processus de transformation plus ample qui va bouleverser l'ordre social précédent.³ Les problèmes politiques, déjà évoqués, qui ont suivi la mort d'Aḥmad al-Mansûr, ont abouti à l'instauration d'une nouvelle "aristocratie" au Maroc, et plus particulièrement à Fès.⁴ Par la suite, je vais essayer de retracer quelques-uns des traits les plus saillants de ce processus, tout en soulignant l'importance de l'élément andalous dans l'évolution de l'élite savante de Fès.

Pendant les premières années du XVII^e siècle, Fès a vécu une sanglante guerre civile qui a opposée les deux factions les plus importantes de la ville, Andalusīyyûn et Lamṭīyyûn. On connaît très bien le caractère géminé de la ville depuis sa fondation, et la division entre Fâs al-Andalus et Fâs al-Qarawiyyîn, qui rend compte de la présence d'un grand contingent andalous à Fès depuis le IX^e siècle.⁵ Pourtant, l'affrontement entre Andalusīyyûn et Lamṭīyyûn revêt des caractéristiques propres qui relèvent des circonstances de l'époque: au moins dès le début du XVII^e siècle, la ville était divisée en trois sections, al-^cAdwa, al-Andalus et Lamṭīyyûn.⁶ Cette division topographique reflétait les origines ethniques des habitants de chaque section, dont l'activité politique était définie par des serrés liens de solidarité. L'opposition Lamṭīyyûn / Andalusīyyûn⁷ révélait, donc, le conflit entre une population d'origine berbère et une autre andalouse, nourrie par des successives vagues d'émigrants venus de la Péninsule Ibérique.

L'analyse des événements déchaînés à Fès après la mort d'Aḥmad al-Mansûr révèle quelques aspects intéressants sur le mode d'organisation du groupe des Andalous, sur leur formes de sociabilité et sur leur dirigeants. En un mot, la figure dominante du groupe à cette période-là c'est ^cAbd al-Raḥmân al-^cÂrif al-Fâsî,⁸ chef de la *zâwiya* des Fâsiyyûn, fondée par son

3 M. García-Arenal, 'Mahdî, murâbit, sharîf: l'avènement de la dynastie sa^cdienne', *Studia Islamica*, 71(1990), 74-114, et "Sainteté et pouvoir dynastique au Maroc: la résistance de Fès aux Sa^cdiens", *Annales ESC* 4(1990), 1019-1042.

4 F.R. Mediano, *Familias de Fez (ss. XV-XVII)*, Madrid, 1995.

5 À la suite principalement de la révolte dite du Faubourg ("del Arrabal") à Cordoue en 818.

6 N. Cigar, 'Société et vie politique à Fès dans les premiers ^cAlawites (ca. 1660/1830)', *Hespéris-Tamuda*, 18(1978-79), 109.

7 R. Le Tourneau, 'La décadence sa^cdienne et l'anarchie marocaine au XVII^e siècle', *Annales de la Faculté de Lettres d'Aix*, XXXII, 1958; F.R. Mediano, *Familias de Fez*, 109-120.

8 Muhammad Al-^cArbî Al-Fâsî, *Mir'ât al-mahâsin min akhbâr al-shaykh Abî l-Mahâsin*, éd. lit., Fès, 1324/1906-7, 147; Al-Ifrânî, *Safwat man intashar min akhbâr sulahâ' al-qarn al-hâdî ^cashar*, éd. lit., Fès, s. d., 34; Al-Qâdirî, *Nashr al-mathânî fi*

frère Abû l-Maḥâsin al-Fâsî. Le rôle joué par ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-Fâsî dans le développement et l'expansion de la *zâwiya* familiale semble avoir été crucial. Lui-même fut le fondateur d'une nouvelle *zâwiya* dans le quartier d'al-Qalqliyyîn, dont l'importance reléga le premier établissement au rôle de sépulture familiale.⁹ La croissance de la *zâwiya* est constante dès le début du XVIIe siècle, jusqu'au point de se constituer comme le centre religieux et politique de la communauté andalouse à Fès. En fait, la présence de ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-Fâsî dans beaucoup d'épisodes de l'affrontement contre les Lamṭiyyûn révèle l'importance de la *zâwiya* au sein du groupe, et sa fonction en tant que noyau autour duquel s'organise la vie communautaire. Étant donné le caractère des sources de l'époque, cette présence est relatée selon les codes narratifs du récit hagiographique: l'intervention miraculeuse du saint est déterminante dans le déroulement des événements, en soulignant une prise de position politique. C'est ainsi que nous voyons sîdî ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-ʿĀrif al-Fâsî maudire le chef de la faction des Lamṭiyyûn, Muḥammad b. Sulaymân al-Lamṭî al-Aqraʿ,¹⁰ ou de conseiller les siens sur la façon d'empêcher les Lamṭiyyûn de réciter le *Ḥizb al-baḥr* de al-Shdhilî pour mieux les battre.¹¹

Les premières années du XVIIe siècle signalent, donc, la consolidation de l'influence andalouse à Fès, structurée par la *zâwiya* des Fâsiyyûn. L'importance de cette *zâwiya* a été immense soit au niveau politique, soit au niveau intellectuel: nous savons par exemple qu'en 1666, Mûlây al-Rashîd fut informé que le chef de la *zâwiya*, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-Fâsî, était l'intermédiaire parfait dont l'influence politique lui permettrait de conquérir Fès.¹² Nous savons aussi que l'influence intellectuelle des Fâsiyyûn dès le début du XVIIe siècle fut telle que l'historien marocain al-Qâdirî a pu écrire qu'à son époque il était presque impossible de trouver à Fès un savant qui n'appartenait pas à la *zâwiya* ou qui n'était pas le disciple d'un de ses membres; les Fâsiyyûn avaient renouvelé la science et la religion à Fès après une longue période de décadence.¹³

ahl al-qarn al-ḥādî ʿashar wa-l-thâni, éd. M. Ḥajjî y A. al-Tawfiq, 4 vols., Rabat, 1977-1986, I, 266; Al-Kattânî, *Salwat al-anfâs wa-muḥâdathat al-akyâs bi-man uqbira min al-ʿulamâ' wa-l-ṣulahâ' bi-Fâs*, 3 vols., éd. lit., Fès, 1898-9, II, 302.

9 A. Sebtî, 'Lignes savantes, généalogie et pouvoir', dans *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam. Actas del Simposio Internacional (Granada, 15-18 octubre 1991)*, Madrid, 1994, 281.

10 Al-Qâdirî, *Nashr*, I, 232.

11 Al-Ifrânî, *Nuzhat al-ḥādî bi-akḥbâr mulûk al-qarn al-ḥādî*, éd. et trad. française O. Houdas, Paris, 1888-9, 238.

12 N. Cigar, 'Société et vie politique', 118.

13 Al-Qâdirî, *Nashr*, I, 124.

La *zâwiya* de Fâsiyyûn put donc consolider son influence à partir de la mort d'Ahmad al-Manşûr grâce à l'affermissement de sa position politique vis-à-vis des autres pouvoirs de la ville, notamment les Lamtiyyûn. Pourtant, ce travail de consolidation ne se bornait pas à l'action politique directe, mais il relevait d'une stratégie plus ample tendante à ce que j'appellerais l'appropriation de l'espace de la transmission, celle-ci conçue comme transmission scientifique, mais aussi généalogique.¹⁴ Cette tâche d'appropriation va se centrer fondamentalement dans la construction d'un ancêtre fondateur à partir duquel on pourrait revendiquer le monopole des chaînes de transmission les plus importantes de l'époque et consolider en même temps le capital d'une prestigieuse ascendance généalogique d'origine andalouse. La figure sur laquelle ce travail va se fixer n'est pas 'Abd al-Rahmân al-'Ârif al-Fâsî, dont on a déjà signalé l'importance décisive, mais son frère aîné Abû l-Mahâsin Yûsuf al-Fâsî, le fondateur de la *zâwiya*.

Bien que la figure d'Abû l-Mahâsin soit ignorée par les sources contemporaines, comme la *Dawḥat al-nâshir* d'Ibn 'Askar¹⁵ ou la *Durrat al-hijâl* d'Ibn al-Qâḍî,¹⁶ presque toute la production écrite de ses descendants et ses disciples a pour objectif de revendiquer la place centrale de l'ancêtre dans l'histoire religieuse et scientifique de Fès. Le premier jalon de cette stratégie est la *Mir'ât al-mahâsin min akhbâr al-shaykh Abî l-Mahâsin*, composée par le fils d'Abû l-Mahâsin, Muḥammad al-'Arbî al-Fâsî, et qui ouvre la série de livres dédiés à la figure du saint, parmi lesquels on compte aussi le *Mumtî' al-asmâ' fi dhikr al-Jazûlî wa-l-Tabbâ' wa-mâ la-humâ min al-atbâ'* de Muḥammad al-Mahdî al-Fâsî¹⁷ et l'*Ibtihâj al-qulûb bi-khabar al-shaykh Abî l-Mahâsin wa-shaykhi-hi l-Majdhûb* de 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Muḥammad al-Fâsî.¹⁸

À travers ces ouvrages, nous nous sommes renseignés sur l'itinéraire personnel d'Abû l-Mahâsin et aussi sur l'histoire familiale.¹⁹ Le saint appar-

14 A. Sebtî, *Aristocratie citadine, pouvoir et discours savant au Maroc précolonial. Contribution à une relecture de la littérature généalogique fassie (XV^e-début du XX^e siècles)*, Thèse 3e cycle inédite, Université de Paris VII, 1984.

15 Ibn 'Askar *Dawḥat al-nâshir li-mahâsin man kâna bi-l-Maghrib min mashâ'ikh al-qarn al-'âshir*, éd. M. Ḥajjî, Rabat, 1977.

16 Ibn al-Qâḍî *Durrat al-hijâl fasmâ' al-rijâl*, éd. I. S. Allouche, Rabat, 1934-36, 2 vols.; éd. M. al-Ahmadî Abû l-Nûr, Le Caire, 1970-72-s.d., 3 vols.

17 Ed. lit., Fès, 1885; éd. 'A. al-'Amrawî et 'A. Murâd, Fès, 1989.

18 Ms. Bibliothèque Générale de Rabat, K 3265. Sur l'historiographie marocaine de ce période, cfr. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris, 1922.

19 On pourra trouver des références sur Abû l-Mahâsin al-Fâsî et sur sa famille dans E. Lévi-Provençal, *EF*², I, 143a, *sub voce*; A. Sebtî, 'Lignées savantes'; F.R. Mediano, *Familias de Fez*, 143-160.

tenait à l'ancienne famille andalouse des Banû Jadd al-Fihri, établie à Niebla, à Séville et à Málaga, et dont on peut suivre les traces depuis l'époque almoravide. Nous connaissons, parmi d'autres, le nom d'Abû Bakr Yahyâ b. °Abd Allâh Ibn al-Jadd al-Fihri et de son frère Muḥammad. Cependant, le membre le plus important de la famille en al-Andalus c'est Muḥammad b. °Abd Allâh, *mushâwar* et *mufî* de Séville qui joua d'une position privilégiée à la cour almohade.

La *Mir'â* de Muḥammad al-°Arbî nous raconte l'émigration de la famille au Maroc en 1470, fuyant la pression de la reconquête chrétienne. Le point d'arrivée des premiers émigrés fut la ville de Fès, où ils se dédièrent au commerce de la cire. C'est le grand-père d'Abû l-Maḥâsin, Abû l-Ḥajjâj Yûsuf b. °Abd al-Raḥmân, qui va s'établir à al-Qaṣr al-Kabîr, un des principaux centres commerciaux marocains de l'époque. Là, la famille reçoit la *shuhra* al-Fâsî.

Abû l-Maḥâsin Yûsuf al-Fâsî est né à al-Qaṣr en 1530. Sa formation a deux parties bien définies: d'un côté, il suit l'enseignement des principaux savants de Fès; de l'autre côté, il se rattache au magistère mystique de °Abd al-Raḥmân al-Majdhûb.²⁰ Ce dernier est le paradigme de ce type de saints extravagants appelés *majâdhîb* (sing. *majdhûb*) qui vont proliférer au Maghreb au XVI^e siècle. À travers al-Majdhûb, Abû l-Maḥâsin se lie à la chaîne de transmission de la *ṭarîqa* d'al-Jazûlî. En 1580, le saint s'établit définitivement à Fès, où il fonda sa *zâwiya* en 1596 dans le quartier d'al-Makhfiya. Après sa mort en 1604, ce fut son frère °Abd al-Raḥmân qui le succéda à la tête de la *zâwiya*.

Ce qui est important à souligner ici c'est que la figure d'Abû l-Maḥâsin (qui, rappelons-nous, n'est pas cité par ses contemporains) telle qu'elle apparaît dans les sources, est une construction élaborée par ses descendants selon des traits pertinents qui font de lui l'archétype de l'ancêtre fondateur, à travers lequel on peut légitimer la position prééminente de la *zâwiya* selon trois axes structurants du discours: d'abord, on monopolise l'héritage de la *ṭarîqa* d'al-Jazûlî, dont l'importance fut croissante depuis la fin du XV^e siècle, début du XVI^e; puis, on se rattache à la chaîne de transmission de la tradition savante de Fès; troisièmement, on revendique le prestige d'un ancien lignage arabe et andalous. Il s'agit, donc, d'une accumulation de *°ilm*, *wilâya* et *jâh*,²¹ sanctionnée par une vaste production ha-

20 Sur les *majâdhîb* au Maroc, cfr. F.R. Mediano, 'Santos arrebatados: algunos ejempllos de *majdhûb* en la *Salwat al-anfâs* de Muḥammad al-Kattânî', *Al-Qanṭara*, 13(1992), 233-256.

21 A. Sebti, 'Lignées savantes', 284.

giographique, biographique et généalogique, dont on a déjà cité quelques exemples.

J'ai essayé d'esquisser très brièvement quelques-uns des traits caractéristiques de ce processus de réaménagement qui eût lieu au Maroc au XVI^e siècle. Pour ce qui concerne l'intérêt de ce travail, on pourrait dire que le cas des Fâsiyyûn exemplifie bien l'évolution de la figure du *ʿâlim* à celle du saint, c'est-à-dire, l'établissement des grandes *zâwiya*-s comme lieux privilégiés de l'action politique et de la sociabilité religieuse. C'est évident qu'au Maroc ce processus est lié à l'universalisation du *sharaf* comme idéologie légitimante.

L'évolution qui mène à ce que j'ai appelé "établissement des grandes *zâwiya*-s" suit donc un double chemin parallèle: d'un côté, on prétend l'accès à un espace d'influence politique, même en conflit violent avec d'autres groupes, comme dans le cas des Lamṭiyyûn de Fès; de l'autre côté, on monopolise le discours, tout en travaillant sur les mécanismes du système de la transmission scientifique et de la tradition religieuse.

À Fès, le protagoniste de ce double penchant du processus a été principalement le groupe des andalous de la ville. Nous avons déjà signalé l'origine andalouse des Fâsiyyûn, et le rattachement d'Abû l-Mahâsin al-Fâsî à la *ṭarîqa* d'al-Jazûlî à travers son maître spirituel ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-Majdhûb. Quelques évidences montrent aussi que les adeptes de la *zâwiya* à Fès furent dès le début majoritairement des andalous: Muḥammad al-ʿArbî al-Fâsî raconte dans sa *Mir'ât al-mahâsin*²² que ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz al-Tabbâc, l'héritier spirituel d'al-Jazûlî, fut chargé de prêcher la *ṭarîqa* à Fès. Autour de lui se constitua le premier noyau de jazûlites de la ville, dont le chef était le disciple d'al-Tabbâc, ʿAlî b. Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ al-Andalusî,²³ les membres de ce groupe étant presque tous des andalous. Nous connaissons le nom de certains d'entre eux: Aḥmad al-Andalusî al-Ḥassânî,²⁴ ʿAlî al-Andalusî al-Baḥrî²⁵ et Aḥmad b. Qâsim al-Sharîf al-Andalusî.²⁶ Celui-ci était le principal disciple de Muḥammad b. ʿAlî Ṣâliḥ al-Andalusî, et son importance tient au fait d'avoir été le maître de ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-Majdhûb. La chaîne de transmission qui lie Abû l-Mahâsin al-Fâsî et sa *zâwiya* aux jazûlites andalous de Fès se complète ainsi. D'un autre part, le père d'Abû l-Mahâsin, Muḥammad b. Yûsuf al-Fâsî, un riche commerçant d'al-Qaṣr, avait lui-même voyagé à Fès pour y recevoir le magistère spirituel d'Aḥmad

22 Muḥammad Al-ʿArbî Al-Fâsî, *Mir'â*, 136-7.

23 Muḥammad Al-Mahdî Al-Fâsî, *Mumtî*^c, 54; Al-Kattânî, *Salwa*, II, 208.

24 Al-Kattânî, *Salwa*, II, 213.

25 *Id.*, II, 214.

26 *Id.*, II, 213.

b. Qâsim al-Sharîf al-Andalusî.²⁷ Cette notice suggère l'existence au XVI^e siècle d'un réseau de relations chez les andalous maghrébins centré autour de la *tarîqa* jazûlite, et qui donnera lieu finalement à la fondation de la *zâwiya* des Fâsiyyûn.

Cette *zâwiya*, on l'a remarqué, représente de quelque façon la culmination de ce processus de naissance et d'établissement des grandes *zâwiya*-s, aussi au niveau politique que religieux et intellectuel: consolidation de l'influence politique, monopole du discours religieux. Mais il faut prendre en considération le fait qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un processus clos. Au contraire, c'est une évolution qui aboutit à une complexité croissante de l'organisation au sein des *zâwiya*-s et à une diversification des champs d'action politique. Le cercle des Fâsiyyûn en donne encore une fois un exemple pertinent. On sait que la stratégie de la *zâwiya* se guide par une sorte de principe de division du travail, qui accorde presque autant d'importance aux activités purement religieuses qu'au commerce, l'agriculture ou l'administration de justice. Mais il faut signaler aussi l'épanouissement de l'influence de la *zâwiya* à travers la création de liens de solidarité et de "clientelisme" avec d'autres établissements religieux. C'est le cas de la *zâwiya* des Banû 'Abd Allâh Ma'an et ses rapports avec les Fâsiyyûn.²⁸

Le fondateur de cette *zâwiya* fut Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allâh Ma'an al-Andalusî. Son père, comme celui d'Abû l-Maḥâsin, était un riche commerçant qui exerçait son travail à la Qaysariyya de Fès. L'initiateur d'Ibn 'Abd Allâh Ma'an dans la voie mystique fut Abû l-Maḥâsin al-Fâsî, puis son frère 'Abd al-Raḥmân al-'Ârif al-Fâsî, dont il a été le disciple pendant vingt trois ans. Finalement, il fonda sa propre *zâwiya* en 1628-9, dans le quartier fâsi d'al-Makhfiya. Son fils Aḥmad, mort en 1708, fut sans doute le saint le plus important de la *zâwiya*, et son appui aux premiers sultans 'alawites est bien connu.²⁹

La *zâwiya* des Banû 'Abd Allâh Ma'an fut liée dès son origine à celle des Fâsiyyûn, avec laquelle elle partage une sorte d'unité d'action politique. Il faut signaler aussi que les membres de la *zâwiya* étaient presque dans sa totalité des andalous. Les sources nous ont transmis le nom de quelques-uns des compagnons de sîdî Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allâh: 'Alî b. Muḥammad al-Andalusî al-Marî, Muḥammad 'Âṣim al-Andalusî ou Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rafi' al-Andalusî. Ces trois disciples de sîdî Aḥmad étaient mariés aux

27 Muḥammad Al-'Arbî Al-Fâsî, *Mir'â*, 136-7.

28 Sur les Banû 'Abd Allâh Ma'an, cfr. 'Abd Al-Salâm Al-Qâdirî, *al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad fî l-ta'rif bi-sayyidinâ Ibn 'Abd Allâh Aḥmad*, éd. lit., Fès, 1352/1937. Pour compléter les références, cfr. F.R. Mediano, *Familias de Fez*, 187-193.

29 N. Cigar, 'Société et vie politique', 148.

soeurs de leur maître, Ruqīyya, ʿĀ'isha et Ṣafiyya respectivement, qui étaient, elles aussi, des saintes. Ce fait paraît indiquer pas seulement la concentration des andalous dans certaines *zāwiya*-s, en l'occurrence celle des Banū Maʿan, mais aussi la logique qui soutient les relations à l'intérieur de la *zāwiya*, où le rapport entre le maître et ses disciples s'entremêle d'alliances familiales endogamiques qui renforcent le rôle de la *zāwiya* comme espace de sociabilité qui sert à structurer la société andalouse de la ville.³⁰

On pourrait citer d'autres exemples semblables à celui des Banū Maʿan, et qui montrent les liens de solidarité établis parmi les andalous de Fès autour de la *zāwiya* des Fāsiyyūn. C'est le cas de Muḥammad Ibn ʿAṭīyya al-Zanāṭī al-Andalusī et de son frère Aḥmad, tous les deux membres d'une ancienne famille andalouse de Salé:³¹ après avoir suivi le magistère d'Abū l-Maḥāsin al-Fāsi, Muḥammad Ibn ʿAṭīyya fut disciple de sīdī ʿAlī al-Ḥārithī, et hérita la direction de la *zāwiya* que ce dernier avait fondé à Fès. Ibn ʿAṭīyya lui-même fut plus tard le maître d'un des descendants d'Abū l-Maḥāsin, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsi.

La stratégie de ces grandes organisations religieuses cherche donc d'abord ce qu'on pourrait appeler l'expansion vers l'extérieur, tout en diversifiant l'effort grâce à la création d'un réseau d'établissements qui pénètrent le tissu social de Fès. D'un autre côté, les mécanismes internes de la *zāwiya* assurent la continuité et la cohésion de l'ensemble à travers, bien sûre, l'initiation religieuse, mais activant aussi les rapports de parenté patrilinéaire et les alliances matrimoniales. Le résultat final de ces stratégies c'est un groupe à composition majoritairement andalouse, cohésionné par des forts liens de solidarité ethnique et religieuse, et dont l'organisation lui permet de jouir d'une position de privilège vis-à-vis du pouvoir central. Ce penchant politique des activités de la *zāwiya* ressort dans l'ambiguïté du discours hagiographique, qui reflète en même temps la capacité d'influence et d'intercession du saint auprès du sultan, et le *topos* de l'*inqibād ʿan al-sultān*, le refus du contact avec le pouvoir.³²

L'histoire de la *zāwiya* des Fāsiyyūn est donc en quelque sorte l'histoire de la communauté andalouse à Fès, de son organisation politique et de sa consolidation comme groupe de pouvoir durant le XVI^e et le XVII^e siècles. Hors du cercle de ces grandes *zāwiya*-s, on ne peut pas négliger l'influence

30 F.R. Mediano, 'Una sociabilidad oblicua: mujeres en el Marruecos moderno', *Al-Qantara*, 16(1995), 385-402.

31 Sur cette famille, cfr. F.R. Mediano, *Familias de Fez*, 130-2.

32 A. Sebti, 'Lignées savantes', 283; M. Marin, '*Inqibād ʿan al-sultān*: ʿulamāʾ and political power in al-Andalus', dans *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam*, 127-139.

andalouse dans d'autres sphères du monde intellectuel et savant de la ville, bien que la proportion des andalous parmi les *ʿulamâ* de Fès ne soit pas très élevée. Dans les quatre-vingt trois familles de Fès recensées dans les *Buyûtât Fâs al-kubrâ*, ouvrage partiellement composée par Ismâʿîl Ibn al-Aḥmar (m. 1404 ou 1407-8), on ne compte que cinq familles andalouses: les Banû Ḥizb Allâh, les Banû Shaybûn, les Banû l-Qabbâb, les Banû Riḍwân et les Banû l-Sarrâj.³³ Les Banû l-Qabbâb étaient une famille déjà disparue au temps de la rédaction de l'ouvrage, et qui avaient émigré à Fès à l'époque d'Idrîs II. Quant aux autres familles, les plus importantes sont sans doute les Riḍwân et les Sarrâj. Les premiers³⁴ étaient originaires de Málaga, et ils se sont établis à Fès vers la fin du XIVe siècle, où ils exercèrent la *kitâba* à la cour mérinide. Nous savons qu'un de ses membres fut disciple d'Abû l-Maḥâsin al-Fâsî.³⁵ Les Banû l-Sarrâj,³⁶ pour sa part, étaient des berbères établis à Ronda, et qui émigraient au Maghreb probablement au XIVe siècle; l'un d'eux, Yaḥyâ al-Sarrâj al-Akbar, était correspondant du célèbre mystique Ibn ʿAbbâd al-Rundî.³⁷ Son descendant Yaḥyâ al-Sarrâj al-Aṣḡar, *khatîb* de Qarawiyyîn, fut le maître de quelques membres de la famille des Fâsî, comme ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-ʿĀrif al-Fâsî et Aḥmad b. Yûsuf, le fils du fondateur.

Outre ces familles cités dans les *Buyûtât Fâs al-kubrâ*, on peut évoquer d'autres cas de *ʿulamâ* et de saints d'origine andalouse à Fès. Muḥammad b. Yûsuf al-Mawwâq al-ʿAbdarî al-Gharnâtî,³⁸ par exemple, avait été *qâdî* de Málaga, puis *qâdî l-Jamâʿa* de Grenade au moment de la conquête chrétienne en 1492. Les sources racontent un de ses voyages à Fès, et le nom de quelques-uns de ses disciples fâsies: Aḥmad al-Daqqûn et ʿAlî al-Zaqqâq. Vers la fin du XVIe siècle, on peut encore trouver des descendants d'al-Mawwâq à Fès.

Un peu plus tard, on peut citer les Ṭarûn,³⁹ une riche famille andalouse qui ne se dédiait pas à la science, au *ʿilm*, mais dont quelques membres étaient arrivés, malgré tout, à exercer le poste de *qâdî* à Fès. Selon

33 Ibn Al-Aḥmar, *Buyûtât Fâs al-kubrâ*, éd. ʿA. W. b. Maṣṣûr, Rabat, 1972, 19, 22, 44 et 70. Quant aux Banû Shaybûn, l'auteur suppose qu'ils pourraient être des berbères préalablement établis en al-Andalus, à un village appelé Shaybûna [*sic*].

34 F.R. Mediano, *Familias de Fez*, 227-8.

35 Il s'agit d'Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Riḍwân al-Najjârî (Al-Kattânî, *Salwa*, II, p. 26).

36 F.R. Mediano, *Familias de Fez*, 230-2.

37 P. Nwya, *Ibn ʿAbbâd de Ronda. Lettres de direction spirituelle. Al-Rasâ'il al-ṣuḡhrâ*, Beirut, 1958, lettres VII à XV.

38 F.R. Mediano, *Familias de Fez*, 198-200.

39 *Id.*, 245.

l'historien du XVI^e siècle Ibn al-Qâḍî, c'était l'habitude à Fès (*min ʿâ-datihim*) d'élire pour ce poste des riches commerçants, pour mieux prévenir la corruption inhérente à la judicature.⁴⁰ Les Ṭarûn que nous connaissons sont le qâḍî ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-Umawî al-Qaṣrî al-Andalusî, et ses fils Aḥmad et Muḥammad, qâḍî et nâʾib al-qâḍî de Fès respectivement, qui furent tués lors de la répression déclenchée par le sultan saʿdien Muḥammad al-Shaykh après la prise de Fès en 1554.

Dans la deuxième moitié du XVI^e siècle, nous trouvons la figure remarquable d'Abû l-Qâsim b. Muḥammad Ibn Abî l-Nuʿaym al-Ghassânî al-Andalusî,⁴¹ qâḍî d'Azammûr, puis de Meknès et de Fès. Outre son apprentissage avec les principaux maîtres et ʿulamâ' de Fès (Aḥmad al-Manjûr, Muḥammad Ibn Majbar, ʿAbd al-Wâḥid al-Ḥumaydî), on doit signaler ses rapports avec la zâwiya des Fâsiyyûn. En fait, Ibn Abî l-Nuʿaym mourut victime d'un coup de feu au cours d'un affrontement entre Andalous et Lamṭiyyûn, ce qui montre son implication avec le groupe andalous et ses activités politiques. D'ailleurs, sa famille était déjà bien connue à Fès: son oncle paternel avait été visir du sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣûr, raison pour laquelle cette branche familiale portait la *shuhra* al-Wazîr. Les Banû l-Wazîr al-Ghassânî se distinguèrent par leur dédicacion à des différentes activités scientifiques et politiques. Un des plus célèbres membres de la famille fut Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Waḥḥâb al-Wazîr al-Ghassânî, kâtib dans la cour de Mûlây Ismâʿîl et qui commanda une ambassade en Espagne en 1690-1, voyage décrit par Ibn al-Wazîr lui-même dans son *Rihlat al-wazîr fi iftikâk al-asîr*.⁴²

Une autre famille andalouse importante à Fès fut celle des Banû Sûda al-Murri,⁴³ descendants des Banû Murra b. ʿAwf b. Saʿd, lignage arabe anciennement établi à Elvira. L'ancêtre de la famille au Maghreb fut le

40 Ibn Al-Qâḍî, *Jadhwa*, I, 134. Le cas des Ṭarûn exemplifie pas seulement la relation entre judicature et corruption dans l'imaginaire musulman, mais aussi la tendance de certaines familles à monopoliser l'exercice du poste de qâḍî et à le transmettre comme héritage familial.

41 F.R. Mediano, *Familias de Fez*, 249-254.

42 Trad. partielle française de H. Sauvaire, *Voyage en Espagne d'un ambassadeur marocain (1690-1)*, Paris, 1884; éd. et trad. espagnole d'A. Bustani, *El viaje del visir para la liberación de los cautivos*, Tanger, 1940. Cfr. aussi H. Pérès, *L'Espagne vue par les voyageurs musulmans de 1610 à 1930*, Paris, 1937; J. Vernet, 'La embajada de al-Gassânî (1690-1)', *Al-Andalus*, 18(1953), 109-131.

43 Sur l'histoire de la famille, cfr. Al-Hawwât, *al-Rawḍa al-maḥṣûda wa-l-halal al-mamdûda fi ma'âthir Banî Sûda*, éd. ʿA. al-ʿA. b. ʿAbd al-Qâḍir al-Tilânî, 2 vols., Casablanca, 1994. Pour compléter les références, cfr. F.R. Mediano, *Familias de Fez*, 234-239.

médecin et *kâtib* Abû l-Qâsim Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn Sûda al-Murri, qui émigrâit à Fès en 1353. Deux siècles après, l'un de ses descendants, Abû l-Qâsim b. Abî Muḥammad Qâsim, fut *qâdî* dans plusieurs villes du Maghreb, comme Marrakech, et mourut en 1596. C'est à cette époque que la famille établit des liens avec les Fâsiyyûn et leur *zâwiya*. Depuis la fin du XVI^e siècle, l'importance des Banû Sûda dans la vie intellectuelle et religieuse de Fès ne cesse de croître jusqu'à nos jours.

On pourrait citer d'autres exemples d'andalous célèbres à Fès: le *muwaqqit* °Abd al-Raḥmân b. Abî l-Qâsim al-Qaysî al-Qarmûnî, un des maîtres du °*âlim* de Meknès Muḥammad Ibn Ghâzî;⁴⁴ Muḥammad b. °Alî Ibn °Udda al-Andalusî, disciple d'Ibn Ghâzî et qui enseigna le Qur'ân à toute une génération de savants de Fès;⁴⁵ Aḥmad b. Qâsim b. °Alî al-Andalusî al-Ghassânî al-Qaddûmî, le plus important grammairien de son époque à Fès et qui fut, lui aussi, le maître des premiers Fâsiyyûn dans ce domaine particulier.⁴⁶

Ce petit catalogue de quelques-uns des plus distingués savants et saints andalous de Fès à cette époque montre que la plupart d'entre eux sont attachés à la famille des Fâsiyyûn, c'est-à-dire, au procès qui, tout au long du XVI^e siècle, aboutit à la consolidation des grandes *zâwiya*-s. Bien qu'on puisse trouver des exemples de °*ulamâ*' andalous intégrés dans les chaînes de transmission de Fès bien avant la fondation de la *zâwiya* des Fâsiyyûn, celle-ci donne un autre sens au terme "andalous", au-delà de la référence quelque peu mythique à al-Andalus. Il s'agit maintenant d'un groupe unifié par des liens de solidarité très serrés, avec des objectifs politiques bien définis et organisé autour de la *zâwiya*. Les stratégies d'action du groupe visent d'abord à monopoliser le discours religieux: la construction d'un ancêtre fondateur, à la fois saint et °*âlim*, point de rencontre de toutes les chaînes de transmission, de toutes les traditions de la ville, en témoigne. Cet effort de monopolisation est parallèle à l'expansion vers l'extérieur, à la "colonisation" des espaces de la ville à travers la diversification des établissements religieux, comme celui des Banû Ma°an. L'épanouissement de

44 Ibn Ghâzî, *Fihris. Al-Ta°allul bi-rusûm al-isnâd ba°da dhahâb ahl al-manzil wa-l-nâd*, éd. M. al-Zâhî, Casablanca, 1979, 80; Ibn Al-Qâdî, *Durra*, III, 102; Aḥmad Bâbâ, *Nayl al-ibtihâj bi-tatrîz al-Dîbâj*, éd. aux marges d'*al-Dîbâj al-mudhahhab* d'Ibn Farḥûn, Beirut, s. a. 172; Al-Kattânî, *Salwa*, III, 296.

45 Al-Manjûr, *Fihris*, 66; Ibn Al-Qâdî, *Jadhwa*, I, 324 et *Durra*, II, 213 ; Al-Kattânî, *Salwa*, III, 282.

46 Ibn Al-Qâdî, *Jadhwa*, I, 135, et *Durra*, I, 156; Al-Qâdirî, *Nashr*, I, 43 et 198; Al-Kattânî, *Salwa*, II, 281.

l'influence de la *zâwiya*, qui s'étend sur le commerce, la judicature, le *makhzan*, le sultan, complète le tableau des champs d'action de la communauté andalouse à Fès. Cette communauté se définit donc pas seulement par son origine ethnique, mais surtout par ses stratégies d'action et ses formes de sociabilité. À la fin du processus, l'élite religieuse andalouse à Fès devient une véritable aristocratie urbaine.

ASPECTS DE L'OCCUPATION PORTUGAISE À AGADIR AU XVIÈME SIÈCLE

HOSTILITÉS ET COHABITATION

BY

AHMED SABIR

Université Ibnou Zohr, Agadir

1. Le Souss à la veille de l'occupation portugaise

Afin de mieux cerner la question de l'occupation portugaise à Agadir durant la première moitié du XVIème siècle, il est toujours très intéressant de faire ne serait-ce qu'un bref aperçu sur la situation socio-politique du Souss à la veille de cette époque.

Vers la fin du XVème siècle, la localité qui, bien des décennies plus tard, allait être appelée 'Agadir', ne serait qu'un minuscule bourg fortifié par des moyens de fortune, et où la vie ne se manifesterait que les mercredis, jour de rassemblement mercantile, d'où le nom de 'Agadir L^cArba'.¹

La topographie d'Agadir L^cArba est de nos jours, et depuis quelque temps déjà, très précise. Ledit rendez-vous hebdomadaire avait lieu autour d'une source d'eau douce qui, jusqu'en 1960 date du tremblement de terre de la ville coulait sur l'emplacement du marabout Sidi Bou Knadel,² et à quelques mètres seulement de la plage.

La toponymie, en tant que science auxiliaire de l'histoire, est un instrument de travail d'une fiabilité à retenir à ce propos. En effet le nom local 'Agadir L^cArba', soit 'Agadir du Mercredi', par lequel les autochtones désignaient cette petite localité, est très parlant. Chaque mercredi, ou *l^cArba*, les commerçants des plaines et des montagnes voisines se dirigeaient

1 L^cArba en Tamazigt, al-arbi^câ en arabe, soit mercredi. Quelques habitants d'Agadir gardent encore en mémoire un certain 'souq L^cArba n'Bugam'. Au début du XXème siècle, l'occupant français aurait instauré la tenu du dit souk tous les dimanches comme c'est encore le cas jusqu'à nos jours. Dans certaines campagnes marocaines, nous pouvons encore voir ce genre de souks qui, sans constituer en soi un véritable habitat, connaît chaque semaine une forte concentration commerciale (voir souk L^cArba Ida-u-Tghumma dans la région de Haha).

2 Sidi Bouknadel s'érige encore de nos jours à l'endroit même où coulait la source également dite ^cAyn Sidi Bu-Knadil, celle-ci ayant disparu après le séisme de 1960. Sidi Bu-Knadil est considéré comme le Saint Patron des pêcheurs.

vers Agadir où avait lieu le souk hebdomadaire pour s'y approvisionner en produits dont ils avaient besoin dans leur vie quotidienne.

Mais si une telle manifestation commerciale hebdomadaire était déjà sur pied à Agadir L^cArba bien avant le XVI^{ème} siècle, on ne peut dire autant d'une véritable vocation marime qui retiendrait en permanence les habitants à cet endroit. Il est par conséquent risqué de parler d'un véritable et si précoce habitat à cet endroit précis. D'ailleurs la notion de *Porto Mesequina*, reprise par certaines cartes anciennes pourrait, laisser entendre qu'à la veille du XVI^{ème} siècle il y aurait un véritable port où les deux principales tribus locales, les *Ksima* et les *Mesequina*, entre autres, pratiqueraient la pêche. Or, nous n'avons pas la moindre confirmation de ce fait socio-économique. Bien au contraire, les berbères de cette partie de l'Afrique du Nord ne s'adonnèrent aux activités maritimes, semble-t-il, qu'à partir de la première moitié du XVI^{ème} siècle, non sans la motivation espagnole et portugaise.³

Par contre, toute la dynamique socio-économique des autochtones se faisait plutôt d'Agadir L^cArba vers l'intérieur et viceversa. Or, les conditions du déroulement de cette dynamique intérieure ne sont pas souvent pacifiques: les luttes entre les tribus, encore loin d'un Pouvoir Central qui les contiendrait, étaient habituelles, voire permanentes, principalement pour des raisons d'autorité territoriale.⁴

Agadir L^cArba réunissait donc certaines caractéristiques qui faisaient du site un sujet amplement susceptible aux potentielles convoitises extérieures: un port qui se trouvait bien à l'abri du Cap Ghir,⁵ une source d'eau douce pour l'approvisionnement en eau potable, une activité commerciale locale suffisamment articulée avec les routes commerciales transafricaines. Les luttes intertribales ne faisaient qu'accroître cette vulnérabilité du site, surtout dans le cadre des nouvelles perspectives expansionnistes récemment apparues en Europe (Portugal et Espagne).

3 L'impact des portugais et des espagnols dans le sort du métier de pêcheurs sur les côtes marocaines est évident. Il suffit de voir aujourd'hui la nette fréquence vocabulaire maritime d'origine péninsulaire dans le langage de pêcheurs marocains en général, et ceux d'Agadir en particulier.

4 Les luttes tribales se sont certainement maintenues même après le départ des portugais. L'opposition entre les *Ksima* et les *Mesequina*, entre autre, a été intermittente jusqu'à l'aube du XX^{ème} siècle.

5 Le toponyme Cap Ghir, *Ighir u-Ferni* chez les autochtones, est linguistiquement redondant, puisqu'il est traduisible par 'Cap de Cap'. Il a donné lieu à *Agadir I-Ighir*, soit 'Le fort de l'épaule'.

2. L'occupation portugaise: 'Santa Cruz do Cabo de Gué d'Agoa de Narba'⁶

La chute de Grenade (1492) marque une plaque tournante dans l'histoire de la Péninsule vis-à-vis de l'extérieur, et plus concrètement à l'égard des deux Continents, Africain d'abord, Américain par la suite. Dès la veille du XVI^{ème} siècle, le Portugal et l'Espagne entamèrent une véritable course à la découverte du monde extérieur par le biais d'une Expansion Maritime vers le Sud.

Nous savons déjà qu'à l'aube de la première moitié du XV^{ème} siècle, le Maroc, dans son ensemble, intéressait le Portugal à la fois en tant que réservoir de céréales et station d'approvisionnement en bétail, or, etc. Toutes ces marchandises étaient en principe destinées soit à la Péninsule elle-même, soit dans le sens inverse, à la Guinée d'où elles étaient troquées principalement contre des esclaves et du métal précieux.

On peut donc dire que le 'commerce triangulaire', presque exclusivement vu jusqu'ici entre l'Europe, l'Afrique et l'Amérique, aurait déjà commencé ici, d'une certaine manière, entre le Portugal, les côtes marocaines et la Guinée.

Pour ce qui est de l'occupation portugaise dans les côtes sud-ouest du Maroc, notons tout d'abord que dans le cadre de cette expansion, le Portugal avait déjà un pied sur la côte atlantique du Maroc y précédant ainsi l'Espagne.

Du fait, et déjà en 1474, le gentilhomme appelé João Lopes de Sequeira avait établi un comptoir commercial (*factoreria*) dans la bourgade de Masst, à moins de soixante dix kilomètres au sud d'Agadir L^cArba ou Agadir Ighir. Le choix de cette localité ne s'est pas fait au hasard, puisque celle-ci occupait justement un site commercialement stratégique, au carrefour des routes commerciales africaines, se prolongeant par des voies maritimes vers l'Europe.

Le consentement provisoire des habitants de Masst à être assujettis au Roi du Portugal Emmanuel Premier n'était pas sans inquiéter les différentes tribus du Souss. Les toutes premières réactions ne se firent pas attendre de la part des *Ksima* et des *Meseguina* qui voyaient sans doute dans cette intrusion 'chrétienne' en terre 'musulmane' une forme de Croisade qu'il fallait

6 Cf. Ahmed Sabir: 'Al asmâ' llatî summiyat bihâ Agâdîr min 1574 ilâ 1968.' in *Actes du Colloque sur le Grand Agadir (Axe historique) Pub. Faculté des Lettres. Agadir, 1986.*

affronter par le *Jihâd*, soit la guerre sainte. La lettre par laquelle les massis se plaignèrent auprès de la Cour portugaise est très explicite à ce sujet.⁷

La cohabitation de Masst et d'Aglou avec les Portugais, ainsi que les différents échanges qui s'en suivaient, étaient alors un fait accompli. Mais les Massis et les Portugais qui y pratiquaient le commerce allaient bientôt se faire beaucoup de soucis quant à l'activité trop suspecte des Espagnols sur la côte d'Agadir L^cArba. Tous deux parvinrent à obtenir l'accord du Roi Emmanuel I^{er} qui ordonna à João Lopes de Sequiera, directeur de la factoreria de Masst, d'embarquer vers Agadir L^cArba afin de l'occuper et de 'refaire cette forteresse sur de nouvelles fondations en terre des Berbères, ennemis de notre sainte religion chrétienne'.⁸

Les chroniques sont unanimes quant au débarquement des hommes du Capitaine à Agadir L^cArba et à la construction de la forteresse lusitane 'sans beaucoup de peine' en cette année de 1505. Cette facilité, néanmoins relative, reste aisée à comprendre compte tenu de la supériorité incontestée des portugais qui détenaient des armes à feu (canons, arquebuses, etc.) si redoutées des Soussis qui ne réagissaient alors qu'avec des armes plutôt primitives (zagaies, arbalètes, etc.).

Il est toujours utile de rappeler que le débarquement des Portugais à Cabo de Gué ne s'est pas fait sans une préparation – une reconnaissance, dirions-nous aujourd'hui – du terrain et de ses environs avec les repérages nécessaires. Les côtes marocaines avaient été répertoriées et identifiées par les Lusitains bien auparavant dans le cadre dudit projet de l'expansion maritime.

Les Portugais avaient donc de quoi être suffisamment sûrs et confiants, tout au moins au début de leur installation à Agadir L^cArba qui prit alors différents noms, tous officiels à un certain moment de l'histoire de la cité: Agoa de Narba, Fonte d'Agoa de Narba, Cabo de Gué D'agoa de Narba, et enfin Santa Cruz de Cabo de Gué.⁹

Cette confiance avait pour principaux garants les alliés de Masst et d'Aglou qui continuaient à épauler inconditionnellement les hommes de João Lopes de Sequeira contre les tentatives espagnoles et les autres tribus locales qui s'opposaient à lui. Cet appui des habitants de Masst aux Portugais leur valut d'ailleurs – pour un moment – le nom de 'Moros de Pazes' (Maures de Paix), par opposition aux 'Moros de Guerra' (Maures de Guerre), habitants de toutes les autres tribus locales hostiles.

7 Cf. la lettre des habitants de Masst au Roi Emmanuel I^{er} datée du 6 Juillet 1510 dans *Sources Inédites...* Portugal, T.I.

8 Cf. Duarte Pacheco Pereira. *Emeraldo de Situ Orbis*. Trad. Robert Ricard, en: *Hespéris*, 1927, p. 252.

9 Voir note no. 7.

Du point de vue de la documentation historique disponible, les informations relatives à la fondation de Santa Cruz de Cabo de Gué par le Capitaine Sequeira sont relativement abondantes. Par contre, celles qui se rapportent à une deuxième forteresse connue sous l'appellation de 'Bem Mirão' que le Capitaine avait construit, par la force des armes également, sur un rocher en face de l'actuel village de Tamraght, sont si rares et réduites à de simples allusions qu'elles mettent en doute l'existence dudit lieu. D'ailleurs le soldat anonyme affirme bien que les 'Maures de Guerre' prirent ce second château peu de temps après sa fondation.¹⁰

Du point de vue topographique, nous pensons que la localisation de Santa Cruz de Cabo de Gué est à étudier à la lumière du critère du choix du site par l'occupant. Outre le commerce prospère et attirant du site, Sequeira voyait dans la localité d'Agadir un point d'arrivée et une porte ouverte sur l'Europe pour les marchandises et le métal précieux transités par les caravanes allant et venant de Guinée, du Mali et de Tombuctu. Par ailleurs, les Portugais, tout comme les Espagnols, se sont rendu compte très tôt de la richesse de la côte d'Agadir L^cArba en poissons, aliment déjà à l'époque très apprécié. Quant au problème de l'approvisionnement en eau potable, déjà très stratégique à cette époque, il était amplement résolu grâce à cette source qui constituait le noyau vitale d'Agadir L^cArba et la principale raison de son existence.

Cette source d'eau 'très douce' fut décisive quant au choix précis de l'emplacement de Santa Cruz. C'est pour cette raison qu'elle fut enfermée à l'intérieur de la forteresse portugaise, restant donc ainsi inaccessible aux 'Maures de Guerre'. Le capitaine lui accordait tellement d'importance qu'il alla jusqu'à nommer un fonctionnaire, Antonio Péres Coelho, pour veiller sur son entretien et sa propriété, percevant une solde respectueuse.¹¹

Cet emplacement de Santa Cruz, sur l'actuel site du marabout de Sidi Bouknadel, le Patron des pêcheurs, restait exceptionnel vis-à-vis des autres forteresses construites généralement sur des hauteurs afin de dominer l'en-

10 Nous pensons qu'il faut rapprocher le toponyme Bem Miao de l'actuel Imuran, nom justement du recher et village de Tamraght. A ce propos il existe un toponyme peu commun, 'Bem Sergao', que l'on peut rapprocher phonétiquement de 'Bem Mirão': Bem Mirão = Imuran

Bem Sergão = Izurgan (?)

11 Cf. Joaquim Figanier: *Historia de Santa Cruz do Cabo de Gué (Agadir) 1505-1541*. Divisão de Publicações da Biblioteca de Lisboa, 1945.
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tourage. Ici, par contre, les vagues de l'Atlantique venaient échouer juste contre le pied de la muraille ouest de la cité qui avait au moins une porte principale sur la mer.

Se trouvant réduite à une île entourée de tous les cotés par les 'Maures de Guerre', cette façade ouverte sur la mer était une franche issue qui garantissait, dans les cas de crise de sécurité, la communication et surtout le commerce, non seulement avec la Cour et l'Europe en général, mais aussi avec les îles de l'Atlantique: Madère et les Canaries.

Mais de nos jours, nous savons malheureusement très peu de choses sur la société soussie de cette première moitié du XVI^{ème} siècle. Les textes arabes locaux, comme ceux de al-Nâsirî, ne donnent que des informations très succinctes quand ils ne reprennent pas les informations des sources portugaises elles-mêmes.¹² L'histoire du Souss à cette époque restera donc, dans ses détails, plus ou moins éclipsée par la perspective étrangère, en l'occurrence portugaise.

L'Agadir, dans le sens le plus large, ayant par définition la fonction de 'grenier collectif', ce qui, d'ailleurs, va en parallèle avec celle du Souk hebdomadaire (chaque mercredi), il est légitime de se demander quel fut le sort de cette double fonction entre 1505, date de la fondation de Santa Cruz, et 1541, celle de sa chute. Le rôle socio-économique du Souk L^carba pourrait-il être suspendu pendant près des quarante ans que dura l'occupation?

Si la tenu du Souk du Mercredi par les Soussis sur son ancien emplacement, près de ladite source occupée par l'ennemi, était hors de question, nous soulignons également que ces événements, si bouleversants fussent-ils pour la société soussie, ne contribuèrent point à la suspension radicale de cette activité commerciale si ancrée dans la vie de la société qu'elle a failli devenir un rite.

Les autochtones continuaient donc à tenir leur commerce hebdomadaire ('*a quarta feira*') pas très loin des enceintes de la localité portugaise afin de continuer d'assurer l'arrivée et le troc des différentes marchandises qui venaient des points éloignés d'Afrique et d'Europe.

Mais nous soulignerons d'un autre côté un fait sociologiquement singulier, bien qu'économiquement justifiable: à savoir que malgré les hostilités entre Portugaises et Soussis, le troc – sous ses formes à la fois légales et illégales – n'a jamais vraiment cessé avec l'ennemi. Bien au contraire, la nouvelle dimension européenne de Santa Cruz de Cabo de Gué y ont donné au commerce une dimension internationale comme nous l'avons souligné

12 Al-Shaykh Abû l-^cAbbâs Aḥmad Ibn Khâlîd al-Nâsirî, *Kitâb al-Istiqsâ' l-akḥbâr al-Maghrib al-Aqṣâ'*, al-Dâr al-Bayḍâ' / Casablanca, Dâr al-Kitâb, 1956, 9 tomes.

plus haut. Ce fut ainsi que des commerçants 'chrétiens' ont été signalés dans différents points commerciaux du Souss, aussi bien en période de trêve comme en celle de guerre. Ce fut le cas à la localité d'Azrou (15 km au Sud ouest d'Agadir), à Tarcoucou (20 km au nord), Tafedna (75 km au nord), etc. Autant d'atoûts du site annoncent déjà la vocation commerciale que l'actuelle ville d'Agadir allait avoir durant les siècles plus tard.

Mais malgré les avantages politico-économiques de la topographie de la cité pour les Portugais, des inconvénients d'ordre stratégique ne tardèrent pas à se manifester. Bientôt la fragilité de l'équilibre des forces entre Santa Cruz et les tribus du Souss ('Maures de Guerre') allait se montrer.

En effet, nous notons, par exemple, que déjà en 1512, soit sept ans après la fondation de la cité, João Lopes de Sequeira se trouvait dans la Cour du Portugal, négociant la vente de Santa Cruz au Roi Emmanuel Ier.¹³ Les raisons de cette décision sont claires. L'entretien de la cité devenait de plus en plus difficile et de plus en plus coûteux pour le Capitaine. Face à la poignée de chevaliers qui devaient y vivre et la défendre, le nombre d'assailants soussis ne cessait de s'accroître à tel point que Santa Cruz se vit plus isolée que jamais, perdue au milieu de gens hostiles et menaçants, animés par un esprit de *Jihâd*. Ce début de la fin d'un négoce facile à Agoa de Narba allait être plus accéléré, quelques années plus tard, par l'action souvent incontrôlée des commerçants et aventuriers espagnols, génois, et même portugais dont le souci majeur et premier était de s'enrichir par tous les moyens.

Même durant les temps dits 'héroïques de Santa Cruz',¹⁴ c'est à dire à l'époque du Capitaine Dom Francisco de Castro (1513-1521), le successeur de João Lopes de Sequeira, et si bien un notable redressement économique et stratégique fut enregistré à l'intérieur de la cité, la rupture dudit équilibre allait vers son apogée.¹⁵

Nous retiendrons, entre autres, deux raisons principales pour cette nouvelle orientation dans le Souss, se justifiant respectivement par le regroupement des autochtones autour du nouveau Roi et par l'ardente cupidité des commerçants étrangers à Cabo de Gué.

13 Cela fut le 15 Janvier 1513.

14 Tel est le titre donné par Joaquin Figanier au chapitre correspondant au gouvernement du capitaine Dom Francisco de Castro en *Historia de Santa Cruz do Cabo de Gué*, D.P.B.L., Lisboa 1945 p. 68.

15 Si les trêves sont bénéfiques pour Santa Cruz, garantissant son approvisionnement par le voisinage, celles-ci sont encore plus avantageuses pour le Souss qui s'organisait petit à petit, s'approvisionnant à son tour en matériel de guerre européen.

Mawlây Aḥmad al-A^craj, descendant de la dynastie Sa^cadienne qui se trouvait déjà dans le Souss en 1509, fut proclamé Roi des tribus soussies en 1512. Ce titre, vu dans le contexte politique de l'époque, lui conférait aussi celui de 'Chef du *Jihād*', ou guerre sainte, contre l'occupant portugais. Pour cette raison il parvint, parfois par la force des armes, à soumettre et à unifier les tribus qui étaient en lutte acharnée les unes contre les autres des années durant, comme nous avons vu. Ceci permit au Souss de diriger toutes ses forces contre la cité 'chrétienne' de Santa Cruz. Mais ce qui accrut davantage l'isolement des portugais fut la reconversion accélérée des 'Maures de Paix', inclus les massis eux mêmes,¹⁶ qui, par conviction religieuse et/ou par peur s'allignèrent sous les drapeaux du nouveau Roi Sa^cadi. Cette nouvelle situation parvint à obstruer presque radicalement l'approvisionnement de la cité, rendant la vie de ses quelques habitants et guerriers très critique.

D'autre part, et depuis déjà l'époque de João Lopes de Sequeira, la prospérité du commerce européen avec le Souss attirait, comme nous avons vu, chaque jour davantage d'aventuriers européens. On ne tarda pas à voir prospérer la pratique du Commerce, notamment celui des armes et du matériel de guerre, dans les ports du Souss. Cette marchandise, très appréciée par les 'Maures de Guerre', puisque susceptible d'être utilisée contre Santa Cruz, était considéré par les capitaines de la cité portugaise comme le pire des dangers.

A ce propos, les ports de Tarcoucou et de Tafedna, où les armes transités d'Europe se font si bon marché, sont exemplaires. Les sanctions et les sévères représailles de Santa Cruz – par le moyen de bateaux armés et destinés spécialement à cet effet –, si fréquentes soient-elles,¹⁷ ne persuadèrent point les 'contrebandiers' à désister d'une si enrichissante 'prohibition'.

L'unification des tribus sous forme du *Jihād* par le Shaykh Sa^cdî et la reconversion des 'Maures de Paix' en 'Maures de Guerre', d'une part, et le florissement de la contrebande d'armes, menées par des commerçants européens, d'autre part, allaient marquer la fin des succès faciles des portugais dans le Souss.

Entre temps, Santa Cruz voyait son isolement devenir de plus en plus aigu: s'approvisionner comme d'habitude en dehors des enceintes devint amplement risqué, pour ne pas dire impossible. Même les présumés 'Maures de Paix' qui se réfugiaient dans la cité pratiquement après 1525 n'é-

16 Bien avant septembre 1517, les massis étaient déjà du côté du Roi Sa^cadi puisque Ben Malek parlait alors d'une expédition aux côtés de Francisco de Castro contre cette localité au même plan que Tarcoucou à cette époque (cf. *Corpo Chronológico Português*. Parte I, maço 22, no. 51).

17 Pierre de Cenival. *Op. cit.* pp. 154-155.

taient en réalité que des alliés du Roi soussi venus épier la cité ou y exécuter quelque mission dûment préparée.¹⁸

L'époque où les '*entradas*' ou assauts portugais en terres du Souss étaient guidées par des chefs maures et où leurs hommes qui combattaient les tribus soussies côte à côte avec les Portugais, n'était plus qu'un très amère souvenir.¹⁹ D'ailleurs l'interruption de l'approvisionnement en céréales, qui était assuré par moments par le voisinage se fit très vite sentir à l'intérieur de la cité. Celle-ci dû alors la compenser par les secours de la Cour de Lisbonne, quand ils arrivaient.

Entre temps, le Roi du Souss ne cessait de s'organiser militairement en vue d'un siège qui en finirait avec la cité. En plus de la fortification du village de Tildi (5 km environ à l'est de Santa Cruz), ce qui allait surtout porter le coup de grâce à Santa Cruz ce fut la décision du Roi du Souss de construire une forteresse sur la colline qui surplombait 'dangereusement' la cité portugaise, à savoir Agadir-U-Fella.²⁰

Cette situation précaire, qui exigea plus que jamais l'alerte continue parmi le peu d'homme de guerre de Santa Cruz face aux attaques et assauts venus de toute part, finit par devenir difficile à supporter. Elle fut de même l'une des principales causes d'une grave instabilité politique à la tête de la cité: 10 capitaines en 20 années. Quand un soldat portugais mourrait, sa substitution devenait impossible. D'après le soldat portugais anonyme, on dû même faire appel aux femmes et aux enfants pendant les moments difficiles, notamment durant les sièges réitérés; et ceci afin d'exécuter avec l'urgence requise certains travaux relevant de la défense de Santa Cruz.

Isolée et assaillie de toute part, Santa Cruz n'avait plus qu'une seule porte pour aller en quête de secours: la mer. N'était-ce pas là une des raisons parmi d'autres du choix de cet endroit précis en 1505?

Mais les appels de secours lancés à la Cour de Lisbonne par le moyen des émissaires étaient de moins en moins entendus. Pour cette raison on peut d'ores et déjà se demander quant à l'opportunité de continuer à essayer de soutenir et défendre cette cité quasiment insoutenable et indéfendable

18 Cf. Pierre de Cenival, *Op. cit.* p. 55 et p. 61.

19 Le *qâ'id* nommé Ben Malek était un '*moro de pazas*' exemplaire auprès du Capitaine Francisco de Castro déjà en 1517, et contribua au succès de plusieurs assauts contre les bourgs Cocaux. Il fut tué le 16 janvier 1525 par le *qâ'id* de la localité d'Azrou (Gaceta 15, *maço* 21, no. 7).

20 Les portugais de Santa Cruz appelaient la colline de Agadir-U-Fella '*El Pico*', et ils ne se sont rendu compte de son importance stratégique que trop tardivement, quand les saadiens y ont déjà construit un bourg fortifié en 1440.

aux yeux des conseillers de la Cour.²¹ Quand lesdits secours arrivaient, c'était presque souvent en retard.²²

Par contre la réponse aux appels de secours de Santa Cruz étaient bien plus rapides quand il s'agissait de l'Île de Madère ou des Îles Canaries. De là les *Adelantados* ne tardaient point à armer les bateaux de guerre nécessaires avec le nombre d'hommes demandé par l'émissaire du Capitaine de Santa Cruz.²³

Mais malgré ces secours périodiques, notons que ces renforts, une fois leurs mission terminée et la prise répartie, ils regagnaient leurs îles, laissant à nouveau seule la cité, exposée à tout moment aux assauts et aux sièges ennemis qui allaient marquer la fin de son existence.

Après plusieurs tentatives d'assiéger la cité, le Roi du Souss, Aḥmad al-Shaykh al-Saʿdī,²⁴ vit que le temps était propice pour une fois en mars 1541. Il y mit toutes ses forces, comptant sur la foi de ses hommes beaucoup plus que sur leur préparation militaire. Les habitants de Santa Cruz n'étaient pas dupes à ce sujet, puisqu'ils avaient bien épié les mouvements suspects des Soussis du côté de la forteresse récemment construite à Tildi. C'est Dom Gutierre de Monroy, alors capitaine de la cité, qui envoya d'urgence demander le secours nécessaire à la Cour; un secours qui, une fois de plus, n'arriverait qu'une fois Santa Cruz prise par le Roi du Souss après des combats très acharnés et très sanglants.

Le soldat anonyme avait bien raison, lorsqu'il considérait Santa Cruz comme une des raisons d'être des Portugais sur la côte ouest africaine. En effet la chute de cette cité entraîna avec elle celle des autres places comme Mogador (Essaouira), Safi et Mazagan (El-Jadîda).²⁵

Le Cour de Lisbonne avait alors ménagé tous ses efforts militaires et économiques dans le but de partir à la découverte du Nouveau Monde, au delà de l'Atlantique, toujours en concurrence avec l'Espagne et dans le cadre d'une nouvelle dimension de l'expansion maritime.

21 On avait déjà conseillé le Roi João III d'abandonner Santa Cruz, voire d'abord de la détruire (cf. Joaquim Figanier, *op. cit.*).

22 Le soldat portugais anonyme cite à propos un proverbe qui montre bien l'arrivée de ces secours en retard: '*asno morto, cevada ao rabo*'. Pierre De Cenival, *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

23 Cf. certains détails dans Pierre De Cenival, *Op. cit.* p. 5 et 77 respectivement.

24 *EF*² s.v. Saʿdids (VIII, 723): 'Mawlâ Maḥammad [sic], Maḥammad; p. 725; Muḥammad, p. 723b.

25 "...vila de Santa Crus do Cabo de Gé d'Agoa de Narba ser a chave d'Africa e porta d'ela." ("... la ville de Santa Cruz du Cap de Gué est la clé et la porte de l'Afrique") Pierre de Cenival, *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

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THE ANDALUSÎ HERITAGE IN THE MAGHRIB: THE POLEMICAL WORK OF MUḤAMMAD ALGUAZIR (FL. 1610)*

BY
G.A. WIEGERS
Leiden University

Abstract:

The subject of the present paper is a polemical work by a Muslim author of Spanish descent, Muḥammad Alguzir, the only such text in Spanish to have been written at the instance of the Moroccan Sultan Mawlâẏ Zaydân (1608-1627). I deal in turn with the historical background, the extant manuscripts, and the contents of the work, paying particular attention to a manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (MS Arch. Selden B 8), which contains a Latin translation of this text with other associated material.

I. Introduction

In 1609 the Spanish authorities decided to expel the Moriscos. About 300,000 people, men, women, and children, had to leave Spain and were forced to travel by sea and land to distant places (mainly North Africa) and had to make enormous efforts to find a new living there.¹

The Moriscos were the descendants of the Muslim minorities of Medieval Christian Spain and of the Muslims of the conquered kingdom of Granada. Forced to convert to Christianity in the early 16th century they

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1 See on the expulsion itself: A. Domínguez Ortiz and B. Vincent, *Historia de los Moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría*, Madrid, 1985; M. de Epalza, *Los Moriscos antes y después de la expulsión*, Madrid, 1992. On the number of expelled Moriscos, see: H. Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne Morisque*, Paris, 1959.

had been required to live as Christians, but most of them never really did convert: they remained Muslim in secret. During the 16th century it was the Spanish Inquisition which was the main instrument employed to try to make conversion into a reality, so that it is not surprising that some Moriscos described the expulsion, on the one hand, as a brutal and utterly inequitable action, but at the same time, on the other hand, as a liberation from the yoke of the Inquisition and a return to a situation in which they were free to express themselves.

With respect to Christianity this was certainly true. The polemical texts written in the Maghrib by Moriscos after their expulsion in 1609 constitute a remarkable commentary upon and rejection of Catholic dogmas. Yet, at the same time, these texts display several remarkable characteristics distinguishing themselves from anti-Christian polemical texts written by Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula in Mudejar times and earlier. For example, several Morisco authors show an awareness of the religious polemics going on between Protestants and Catholics. In their Islamic criticism of the Catholic faith, Moriscos make use of these Protestant polemics in several ways, for example, in their criticism of the role of the Popes.²

The expulsion of the Moriscos itself was a very complex process in which those expelled left Spain in various directions and under various circumstances. The entire process lasted from September 1609 until 1614, when the last Moriscos were forced to leave Spain. It seems likely that the Moriscos themselves tried to influence their future position in their new countries shortly before and during the expulsion and tried to improve the conditions of settlement. In this process, there are two main determining factors to be distinguished.

First of all, after 1610 it became clear that no European country was prepared to grant settlement to Muslim Moriscos, i.e. to permit sanctuary to those who refused to profess the Christian creed, and even more often as not they simply refused them to enter the country.

Secondly, for expelled Moriscos who still had some sort of choice (many of course did not have any choice at all) two main alternatives remained: (a) to try and settle in one of the Ottoman territories: Turkey, Greece, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, or (b) to go to Morocco.

2 See L. Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens. Un affrontement polémique (1492-1640)*. Paris, 1977, pp. 309-312; G.A. Wiegiers, 'Muhammad as the Messiah: A Comparison of the Polemical Works of Juan Alonso with the *Gospel of Barnabas*', *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 52, 3/4(1995), 245-291; idem, "Mahoma visto como el mesías: comparación de las obras polémicas de Juan Alonso con *el Evangelio de Bernabé*", *Ilu* (Madrid) (forthcoming).

With respect to the territories of the Ottoman empire (Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers and Turkey itself) we can read in many sources that, in some respects, the Moriscos were incorporated into the Ottoman political and social structure as separate communities. One example must suffice here to illuminate this. We know of the installment of a head of the Andalusian communities (*shaykh al-Andalus*) in Tunis and Tripoli, the most important areas of settlement. Until the end of the 19th century, the *shaykh al-Andalus* was an important official who, among other things, attended to the relations between the Andalusian communities and the authorities.

The position of the immigrants to Morocco differed from that of those settling in Ottoman empire. At the beginning of the 17th century, the time the Moriscos were expelled from Spain, Morocco was entirely absorbed in the struggle for power between the successors to Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, who had died in 1603. The immigration of the Moriscos took place during a civil war which was to continue for years. Their situation depended on their willingness to cooperate with, serve (for example as soldiers), or to become allies of one or more of the respective parties. The examples of the cities of Tetuan and Rabat illustrate that they sometimes succeeded in achieving a kind of semi-autonomy or, as they qualified it themselves, a free republic like Venice.³ But a genuine state of autonomy remained the exception. After some decades, the majority of the Moriscos integrated into Moroccan society, sometimes rising to high positions.

II. The Polemical Work of Muḥammad Alguazir: Introduction

One of the Moriscos establishing themselves in Marrakesh is known under the name of Muḥammad Alguazir. The name Alguazir is the Spanish equivalent of the Arabic *al-wazīr*, which in Arabic literally means ‘minister’, or ‘vizir’. But this need not necessarily indicate that the bearer of this name indeed fulfilled an official function at court although this cannot be excluded either. Al-Mannûnî has shown that at the courts of Saʿdid Sultans from the reign of Aḥmad al-Mansûr onwards a lively interest in the secular sciences existed, and that among those who were actively engaged in translating non-Arabic scholarly works into Arabic several Moriscos can be found.⁴ Some

3 See on Tetuan: G. Gozalbes Busto, *Los Moriscos en Marruecos*, Granada, 1993; H. Bouzineb and G.A. Wiegiers, ‘Tetuan y la expulsión de los moriscos’ (forthcoming); on Morisco settlement in Morocco in general: M. Razûq, *Al-Andalusiyyûn wa-hijrâtuhum ilâ l-maghrîb khilâla l-qarnayn 16-17*. Casablanca, 1991².

4 M. Al-Mannûnî, ‘Ẓāhira taʿrîbiyya fi l-maghrîb al-saʿdî’, *Daʿwat al-Haqq* 10, no. 1078, 99, 104, 65621-5. Downloaded from Brill.com 03/17/2024 11:45:33AM via Wikimedia

of these Moriscos at the Saʿdid courts were engaged in translating Arabic texts into European languages, sometimes in their capacity of official interpreters, such as Aḥmad b. Qâsim al-Ḥajarî.⁵ Another Muslim of Spanish descent who was active at the Saʿdid court was the famous physician Abû 'l-Qâsim b. Muhammad b. Ibrâhim al-Ghassânî al-Andalusî, known as “al-Wazîr”.⁶ Abû l-Qâsim was born in 1548/955 and probably died in 1019/1610. He was active at the courts in Fez in Marrakesh and came from the important al-Wazîr al-Ghassânî family, a name which they according to some sources derived from the fact that Abû l-Qâsim had been entitled to use the title of vizir. It cannot be excluded that the author of our treatise is in fact to be identified with this Morisco physician, or perhaps with his father, with whom Abû 'l-Qâsim had studied medicine. So far, however, I have not been able to find conclusive evidence for this identification.

Alguazir, or Alguaçil, was also a Mudejar and Morisco surname.⁷ It seems also possible, therefore, that the aforesaid al-Ḥajarî refers to ‘our’ Muhammad Alguazir in a letter written in Paris to Moriscos in Istanbul in 1612 about the emigration of several expelled Morisco intellectuals. He tells his friends in Istanbul that one “Mr. Alguaçil has gone to Marrakesh”.⁸

The Morisco descent of the author of the polemical text under scrutiny seems to be established by one source only, namely by Ibrahim Taybili.

3 (Ramadan 1386/1967), pp. 74-91.

5 On Al-Ḥajarî see: G.A. Wiegiers, ‘A Life Between Europe and the Maghrib: the Writings and Travels of Aḥmad b. Qâsim al-Ḥajarî al-Andalusî (born ca. 977/1569-70)’, in: *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges (= Orientations. Yearbook of the Dutch Association for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies* (G.J. van Gelder and E. de Moor, eds.), vol. 1, Amsterdam, Atlanta, 1993, 87-115, see also: idem, ‘Learned Moriscos and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands, 1609-1624’, *Romania Arabica* (forthcoming).

6 See on him, for example, Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qâdirî, *Nashr al-mathânî li-ahl al-qarn al-hâdî ʿashar wa'l-thânî*, M. Ḥajji and A. Tawfiq, eds., Rabat, 1977-1986, 4 vols., II, p. 404; al-Mannûnî, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77; Abû 'l-Qâsim b. Muḥammad al-Ghassânî, *Hadiqat al-azhâr fi mâhiyyat al-ʿushb wa-l-ʿaqqâr*, Muḥammad al-ʿArbî al-Khâtâtî, ed., Beirut, 1985/1405; on the family: F. Mediano: *Familias de Fez (ss. XV-XVII)*, Madrid, 1995, pp. 249-254 and the sources referred to there.

7 See W. Hoenerbach, *Spanisch-Islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Nasriden und Moriscos*, Bonn, 1965, p. 289, discussing a document in which, among others, a certain ʿAzîz al-Wazîr from Morés is mentioned (dated 917/1511); A. Conte Cazcarro, *La Aljama de Moros de Huesca*, Huesca, 1992, p. 50, mentions a certain Mohamad Alguazir in Huesca in the middle of the 15th century.

8 G.A. Wiegiers: *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius. Aḥmad b. Qâsim al-Andalusî and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*. Leiden, 1988, p. 43.

Taybili also was an expelled Morisco, who was active in a Tunisian village, Testour, founded by Moriscos. It is Taybili who mentions that Muḥammad Alguazir was a former inhabitant of Pastrana (Castile), “who is ‘now’ (Taybili was writing in 1037/1627-8) an inhabitant of Marrakesh”.⁹

Muḥammad Alguazir is the author of an anti-Christian polemical work in Spanish,¹⁰ which is extant in two manuscripts, both written in Spanish in Latin characters:¹¹ MS 9074 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, and Wadham College, Oxford, MS A 18:15. The first manuscript, in 8^o, was described by Saavedra.¹² In addition to Alguazir’s polemical text, which seems to occupy f. 1-f. 113v (we will see below that the original version of Alguazir’s treatise is perhaps even shorter), the manuscript also includes a treatise in Spanish on the twenty Divine attributes (Ar. *ṣifât*) (f. 115r-f. 123r) in which the attributes themselves are written in Arabic. Both treatises are written in the same 17th-century hand. The manuscript is undated. It contains watermarks (see f. 37), but these are unfortunately impossible to identify.

This holds also true for the second manuscript, preserved in the library of Wadham College, Oxford, A 18.15, recently described by L.P. Harvey.¹³ It is a book of 151 small sheets, 14 cm x 6 cm, all without watermarks.¹⁴ Muḥammad Alguazir’s polemic forms the major part of this manuscript as well (f. 2r-f. 123r). This manuscript does not include the treatise on the Divine attributes, but a number of poems instead (*décimas* and *romances*),

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- 9 “...y abiendo bisto un libro que a mis manos bino cuyo autor fue Muhámad Alguazir, beçino que fue de Pastrana, y al pressente de la ynsigne çiudad de Marruecos [sic] en que contradiçe la falssa ley cristiana ...”, I. Taybili, *El cántico islámico del morisco hispanotunecino Taybili*, ed. by L.F. Bernabé Pons, Zaragoza, 1989, p. 140.
- 10 See on this text: Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, passim; G.A. Wieggers: ‘Diplomatie et polémique anti-chrétienne: naissance et influence de l’oeuvre de Muḥammad Alguazir (vers 1021/1612)’, *Actes du V Symposium International d’Etudes Morisques sur: le Ve centenaire de la chute de Grenade 1492-1992*, Zaghouan, 1993, 3 vols., vol. 2, pp. 747-756.
- 11 Many Spanish Morisco texts were written in Arabic script, the so-called Aljamiado literature.
- 12 E. Saavedra, ‘Discurso que el Ecsmo. Sr. D. Eduardo Saavedra leyó en Junta Pública de la Real Academia Española, el día 29 de diciembre de 1878, al tomar posesión de su plaza de Académico de número’, *Memorias de la Real Academia Española*, VI, Madrid, 1889, apéndice I: Índice general de la literatura aljamiada, no. IV.
- 13 L.P. Harvey, ‘A Second Morisco Manuscript at Wadham College, Oxford: A 18-15’, *Al-Qantara*, 10,1(1989), 257-272.
- 14 Ibidem, p. 270.

notes and remarks on several subjects related to anti-Christian polemical subjects, including a commentary on the polemic by Alguazir, written in different hands and signed by different authors (f. 124r-f. 151v). Among these authors, we find the names of Ahamed Vitoria and Mahamad Valenciano, apparently authors of Spanish (Morisco?) descent.¹⁵ One of the main topics addressed in these poems is the way in which the Christian tradition dealt with the Prophets, departing from the Islamic doctrine of immunity from sin (*ʿiṣma*). Some of them are laudatory poems dedicated by one Muslim author to another. Thus, we find, for example, a poem by Mahamed Valenciano to his friend and countryman (*mi amigo y paysano*), Ahamad Vitoria, in which he calls him “the living repository (*archivo vivo*) of (Muslim) theology” who will be able to answer the questions of all Christians looking for the Truth (f. 137r).¹⁶ On f. 138r we find a polemical poem dedicated to a Christian author, Alonso de Vascones, “author of *Destierro de ignorancias* and to his ignorance”. The said work was published in Madrid, and went through the press in 1614 and 1617. Hence, this reference provides a *terminus post quem*. Hereafter we will confine ourselves to the work of Muḥammad Alguazir.

III. Contents

Preliminary Remarks:

- a. One of the main sources of Alguazir’s work are the creeds (*ʿaqîdas*) of that famous Ashʿarite theologian from Tlemcen, Muḥammad al-Sanûsî (d. 895/ 1490).¹⁷ It was al-Sanûsî who, by introducing Aristotelian logic into the creed, gave a new impulse to an intellectual development of Ashʿarite theology in the Maghrib.¹⁸ His influence, which has continued until today, was already very strong at the beginning of the 17th century. The logical categories, necessary (*wâjib*), impossible (*mustahîl*), and possible

15 Ibidem, p. 269. Valenciano might be the Spanish surname of Alguazir.

16 This expression very much reminds us of other laudatory poems from among the Moriscos, such as a Spanish poem addressed to the Morisco Aḥmad b. Qâsim al-Ḥajarî in Rabat, preserved in a MS of the Bologna library, in which this man is called “unique in art, the repository of science” (Eres único en el arte / de las ciencias el archivo), see Wiegiers, ‘A Life Between Europe and the Maghrib’, p. 89 n.11. The Prophet Muḥammad is also called “archivo y cumplimiento de la ley” (MS 9074, f. 2v).

17 Ms 9074, f. 22v, mentioned by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allâh also, *Epistola*, p. 62.

18 Hajji, *L’activité intellectuelle*, p. 82, 169.

(*jā'iz*), which al-Sanūsī introduced in his creeds are made use of by Alguazir to point out the logical inconsistencies in the Apostolic creed. Because of his a priori assumption of the truth of the orthodox Islamic views, it is clear that the Apostolic creed is not only attacked with the tools of Islamic logic, but that Islamic dogma and theological tradition play an important part as well. In fact, it seems abundantly clear that many of the arguments found in Alguazir's work are not the result of independent study of the sources but can be traced back to al-Sanūsī.¹⁹ I have refrained, however, from making a systemic survey of the relationship between Alguazir's polemic and al-Sanūsī's works.

- b. The text often makes use of the terms *maquina* for the universe and of the word *architect* (*arquitector*) to indicate God. These images of God and creation are known to have existed already in the Platonic tradition in the early Middle Ages,²⁰ but in the 17th century they were fervently supported by philosophers of the Hermetic tradition, such as John Dee and Giordano Bruno.²¹ The significance of the terms in this treatise (we find it in other Morisco writings as well) is unclear. Perhaps they are used here to express technical currents in Western Europe at the time, which may be characterized as the "mechanisation of the World Picture"? Or are we dealing with terms which are derived from one of al-Sanūsī's works as well?
- c. Although the author at a certain moment makes a distinction between 'Papists' on the one hand and Protestants, including Calvinists, Anabaptists, and "all those who consider the Pope a liar, as well as his Mass, the Sacraments, and Saint worship" on the other, there is no positive attitude towards Protestant ideas.²² The divisions amongst the Christians are

19 To mention one example: the remarks about the *aqânîm* are taken from al-Sanūsī's *Muqaddimât*. See J.D. Luciani (ed.), *Les prolégomènes théologiques de Senoussi. Texte Arabe et traduction française*. Alger, 1908, p. 77.

20 See for example figure 9.7, a picture of God as architect of the universe, in: Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, M 2554, f. 1v, dating from the 13th century, D.C. Lindberg: *The Beginnings of Western Science*, London, 1992, p. 199. *Machina universitatis* is an expression found in the work of the Platonist Hugo de St. Victor as well.

21 See F. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, London, 1972, p. 213; John Dee speaks about "our heavenly Archemaster", cf. F.A. Yates: *Theatre of the World*, London, 1969, p. 192.

22 *Epistola*, pp. 94-5, BNM 9074, f. 42v. For Morisco works which show the influence of Protestant thought, see: Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, p. 126, 128; Wiegiers, 'Muhammad as the Messiah'. A number of Morisco authors quote the works of Cipriano de Valera, which were also found in Maurice's library, see: Anonymous, *De Oranje Nassau-Boekerij en De Oranje-Penningen in de Konin-*

merely interpreted as clear evidence of their misunderstanding of the nature of God's true love.

A.Preface(s)

The manuscript begins with the author's first preface (MS 9074, f. 1r-f. 2v²³), in which he tells us (without mentioning his name) that he, although he was not particularly equipped for writing such a work, decided to do it "because the very powerful, virtuous helper, and very lofty, righteous, sublime King and Ruler of the Muslims, Mawlây Zaydân" (ca. 1608-1627) had ordered him to do so,²⁴ and he expresses the hope

... that this book may serve the purpose for which it was intended, namely to discover the truth of the highest word of the Unicity, for because of the error of the Trinity, innumerable souls go to hell and even though it is true that this task is not a suitable one for someone of my inferior intelligence, there being so many scholars among the Moors who have written about this subject. But, because these works are written in Arabic, which the Christians do not understand [sic], I dared to do so, as I know Spanish, since I was educated among the Christians, and know the Law [i.e. the religion] and traditions they follow.²⁵

From this passage it becomes clear that we are dealing with an author who was raised among Christians. For that reason, he possessed qualities which were apparently deemed very valuable to the enterprise.²⁶

klijke Bibliotheek en in het Koninklijk Penning-Kabinet te 's Gravenhage, Domui Nassaviae-Arausia Sacrum, 1898. Valera's *Los dos tratados de la papa y de la misa* is mentioned under no. 259.

23 The beginning of the Arabic *basmala* as found in the Wadham MS is absent (see Harvey, 'A Second Morisco manuscript', p. 259). On the flyleaf we read, written in a later hand, *apología contra los artículos de la ley cristiana*, obviously meant to be a title.

24 "... por avermelo mandado el potentissimo uirtuosso socorredor y grande engrandezido justo y ssublímador Rey i gobernador de los moros, muley Zaidan", Madrid, B.N. 9074, f. 2r, cf. Harvey, 'A Second Morisco Manuscript', p. 267.

25 Madrid, B.N. 9074, f. 1v-f. 2r: ... "Para queste livro tenga el fin que del se pretende ques descubrir la verdad de la altissima palabra de la unidad, pues por el horror de la trinidad tanta infinidad de almas ban al infierno y haunque es berdad questa hobra no pertenezia a mi torpe entendimiento por haber tan grandes sabios entre los moros que en este particular an escripto pero por abello escripto en arabigo y los Xpianos no lo entienden atrebime por entender la lengua castellana, por // aberme criado entre los chistianos [sic] y saber y entender la ley i costumbres que guardan".

26 From this passage Cardaillac draws the conclusion that the text was written for Morisco readers but, as I will show below, it is far more likely that the author was writing for people whom he considered to be Christians who did not know Arabic.

Then follows a second preface (f. 2v-f. 4v), which is basically a pious invocation of God's blessing, so that the author's work (here he makes himself known as Muḥammad Alguazir) may turn Christians away from their heretic belief in the Trinity and lead them to the belief in the Unity.

Next, the introduction follows, basically devoted to explaining that the Christian beliefs are based on the Apostolic creed, which contains 14 articles. The Apostolic Creed is quoted here in a particular form that goes back to Thomas Aquinas.²⁷ It is divided into seven articles pertaining to Christ's humanity and seven articles pertaining to His Divinity.²⁸

see Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, p. 187, "Il entreprend d'écrire ce livre polémique parce que, dit-il, les livres qui ont été écrits sur ce sujet sont tous en arabe et que ses compatriotes, élevés parmi les Chrétiens, ne les comprennent pas".

- 27 *Secunda Secundae Summa Theologiae* (= *Thomae Aquinatis Opera Omnia*, tome VIII, Rome, 1895), Quaestio 1, articulus VIII: "Et ideo prima distinctio credibilium est quod quaedam pertinent ad maiestatem divinitatis; quaedam vero pertinent ad mysterium humanitatis Christi, quod est *pietatis sacramentum*, ut dicitur I ad Tim. III [vers. 16]. Circa maiestatem autem divinitatis tria nobis credenda proponuntur. Primo quidem, unitas divinitatis: et ad hoc pertinet primus articulus. Secundo, trinitas Personarum: et de hoc sunt tres articuli secundum tres Personas. Tertio vero proponuntur nobis opera divinitatis propria. Quorum primum pertinet ad esse naturae: et sic proponitur nobis articulus creationis. Secundum vero pertinet ad esse gratiae: et sic proponuntur nobis sub uno articulo omnia pertinentia ad sanctificationem humanam. Tertium vero pertinet ad esse gloriae: et sic ponitur alius articulus de resurrectione carnis et de vita aeterna. Et ita sunt septem articuli ad divinitatem pertinentes. Similiter etiam circa humanitatem Christi ponuntur septem articuli. Quorum primus est de incarnatione sive de conceptione Christi; secundus de navitate eius ex Virgine; tertius de passione eius et morte et sepultura; quartus est de descensu ad inferos; quintus est de resurrectione; sextus de ascensione; septimus de adventu ad iudicium. Et sic in universo sunt quatuordecim". This creed had already been circulating in Spanish in the fourteenth century (cf. P. Miguélez, *Catálogo de los códices españoles de la Biblioteca del Escorial*, I Relaciones históricas, Madrid. 1917, MS C IV 2.: Cod. en 4^o de 200. 140 mm. Enc. del Esc. cortes dorados 104 folios. pergamino. letra del siglo XIV latin y cast, a 2 cols. y 2 tintas, (XI): Compendio de doctrina cristiana, ff. 99v-103v: Emp. los articulos de la fe son catorze...). We find Spanish versions of this very creed used for missions among converts in the New World. This may raise the question whether Muḥammad Alguazir, who as a Morisco had probably been subjected to missionary efforts, may have been brought into contact with this particular form of the creed in the same way (Pedro de Gante, *Cartilla para enseñar a leer*, México, 1569, a facsimile of this source in: G. Bravo Abuja, *Los materiales didácticos para la enseñanza del español a los indígenas mexicanos*, México, pp. 36-51; Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia*, pp. 91-107; cf. M. García-Arenal, 'Moriscos and Indians: a Comparative Approach', G.J. van Gelder and Ed de Moor (eds.): *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges*. Amsterdam, Atlanta, 1992, 39-55.

- 28 "Los articulos de la fee son catorze. Los siete pertenecen a la dibinidad y los otros

B. Chapters 1-4.

The first four chapters explicitly deal with a refutation of the articles of the Apostolic creed described above.

Chapter One (f. 6v-f. 26r) is devoted to the first four articles. According to the author, these four articles (he calls them *atributos*) contradict each other to such an extent that there is almost no need for refutation (*contradizion*). How can God be father and son at the same time, and in addition also be the Holy Ghost? Reason is not capable of understanding this. The Christians, however, maintain that it is a mystery, but we Muslims know that God endowed man with reason in order to be able to accept what is possible and necessary, and to reject the impossible.²⁹ In order to explain the Trinity the Christians compare it to the sun, which at the same time is the sun [i.e. matter], heat and light, but we, Muslims (throughout the text he uses an unusual word in Islamic texts: *moros*) reply that the heat of the sun is an *activity* of the sun, not the sun itself, so that they in fact maintain, in spite of their intentions, that the son is God's creation, and not of the same essence. At other times, they compare the Trinity to a cloth (*pañó*) folded into three, and still remaining one if unfolded again; to an apple;³⁰ or to the spirit, which consists of memory, reason, and will.³¹ All these comparisons fail: God, who created from nothing, is One in his Essence, free and above composition (*compostura*).³² For much the same reason, they falsely maintain that Christ³³ is God's word and God at the same time.³⁴ But God has created from nothing the machine³⁵ (of the universe) and He did so by means of the

siete a la humanidad. Los siete primeros creher en un solo Dios todopoderoso. El ssegundo creher ques padre, el terzero creher ques hijo, el quarto que es espritu sancto, el quinto creher ques criador el ssesto que es salvador, el ssetimo creher ques Glorificador. Y los siete que perteneçen a la humanidad son estos el primero qreer que Chisto en quanto hombre fue conçevido por hobra de spritu santo el ssigundo que nazio de santa Maria birgen antes del parto y en el parto y despues del parto, el terçero que rrezibio muerte y passion por ssalbar los pecadores el quarto que bajo a los infiernos y ssaco a las animas de los sanctos padres que estaban aguardando su ssancto aduenimiento, el quinto que rresuzito al terzero dia el ssesto que ssudio a los zieolos y esta assentado a la diestra de Dios padre el ssetimo que benddra a Juzgar a los bibos y a los muertos, para dar gloria a los buenos y pena a los malos", BNM MS 9074, f. 5r-6r.

29 f. 7r.

30 f. 11r.

31 f. 11v.

32 f. 12v-f. 13r.

33 Throughout the text the author uses "Chisto" [sic], not Jesus.

34 f. 13v-f. 17(b)r (folio 17 is numbered twice).

attribute of his power, which is part of His essence and cannot be distinguished from it, and He enlightens his Creation with His Grace. Then the author goes on to explain why Christ is called God's spirit (*espíritu de Dios*) in Islam (f. 18r-f. 20v), and how one should perceive his miracles: these are the Divine miracles, like the revival of the dead and the curing of the ill, which other earlier Prophets like Eliyah³⁶ had also performed. All the prophets are capable of performing such miracles, especially the Prophet Muḥammad, as we know from the miracles described in the book of Qâḍî 'Iyâd.³⁷ Returning to his discussion of the Trinity, the author mentions the fact that in earlier times the Christians used to explain the Trinity in quite different terms from those of his contemporaries, for example by using the concept of the *aqânîm* (sing. *uqnûm*, hypostasis),³⁸ the inconsistencies of which show the futility of their arguments. The author's Muslim contemporaries and predecessors, such as al-Sanûsî, have persisted in giving the same answers to the Christians:³⁹ God's essence is indivisible. The Christians also explain in different ways how the two natures of Christ are to be perceived.⁴⁰ This illogical mingling of the Divine world and the world of Creation is also rejected and refuted.

Chapter Two (f. 26r-f. 34r) deals with the three articles stating that Christ is Creator, Saviour and Glorifier. The Christians say that Christ is creator. This cannot be true, however, for a number of reasons. The author enumerates ten, the first of which being that this would imply that there are two of them, which obviously cannot be true. With regard to their statement that He is glorifier (*glorificador*) and saviour (*salvador*), the same objections can be made, so the author tells us.⁴¹ Some additional reasons could be given, however, one being that it is the Creator who saves and grants glory, and not a created being, to which category (according to the Christians themselves) Christ also belongs. This in itself shows once more the logical inconsistency of the Christian position, so the author explains at length.

Chapter Three (f. 34r-36r) deals with the articles stating that Christ was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and that he was born of Saint Mary, virgin before, during and after giving birth. The errors in these two articles are

35 For this term, see above.

36 f. 21r.

37 f. 21v. The author refers to his *Kitâb al-shifâ' bi-ta'rif ḥuquq al-Muṣṭafâ'.*

38 f. 23v, and see further below.

39 f. 22v.

40 f. 24v.

41 f. 30r.

hidden (*encubierto*) because the Muslims also say that his soul was the Holy Ghost and that he was God's Ghost [Ar. *rūḥ Allāh*], and conceive his birth as a miracle comparable to that of Adam, who had had no human procreator either. With respect to Christ the Muslims take up a middle position (where the truth is always to be found)⁴² between the Jews and the Christians: they consider Jesus to be a Prophet, but not God's son (as the Christians do), nor do they think that this conception and birth "were sinful and that he led an evil and dishonest life, as the cursed Jews do".⁴³

Chapter Four deals with the articles which say that one should believe that Christ suffered and died in order to save mankind, descended into Hell, and saved the Holy Fathers, all this in order to expiate Adam's sin, and that he was raised from the dead on the third day. First of all, the author again gives an impression of the Christian views and then sets out to refute them. His main argument to the contrary here is that, according to Alguazir, the person crucified was very probably Judas, who, forced to assume Jesus's physique as a result of a miraculous transformation, was arrested and subsequently crucified.⁴⁴ According to the author, this identification is in harmony with several passages in the Gospels. (Although the author does not say so here, this identification is also in accordance with Islamic dogma that not Jesus himself was crucified, but someone who seemed to be him instead

42 f. 35v.

43 "...y el otro extremo de los maldictos judios diziendo de un proffeta menssajero de Dios criado por grazia y milagro de madre virgen onesta y ssancta que era enjendrado en pecado y que era de maluvir mentiroso", f. 35r-v.

44 MS 9074, f.40r: "y el cruzificado por oculto juizio de Dios fue un hombre en la misma semejanca de Chisto el qual se entiende ser Judas el que como traidor procuro bendelle a los judios anssi quando entro disimulado adonde Xpto estaba en el guerto con los dizipulos para abelle de entregar con el beso de paz hordeno Dios quel Judas tomando la semejanza de Xpo le assieron a el, y a Chisto le alço Dios a los çielos sacandole de entre ellos y, siendo como es, anssi biene bien co [sic] lo quel hixo del ortelano dijo (the son of the gardener is not mentioned in Mark 14, nor by Taybili, who quotes this passage, but speaks of the gardener) aber bisto un bulto blanco y desaparezerse..." (cf. L. and L. Ragg, *The Gospel of Barnabas. Edited and Translated from the Italian ms. in the Imperial Library at Vienna*. Oxford, 1907, p. 473, cf. Mark ch. 14. 51. In the *Gospel of Barnabas* (another polemical text closely connected with the anti-Christian literature of the Moriscos, see Wiegiers, 'Muhammad as the Messiah'), the person fleeing in a white dress is identified as John. This is in agreement with the Christian tradition. Alguazir seems to identify him with Jesus. On Judas as a substitute, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* ad Q. 4:156-7, according to whom some Christians had heard the one crucified say: "I am not the man (*ṣāhibakum*); it was me, who guided you to him", J. Jomier, "L'Évangile selon Barnabé", *MIDEO*, 6(1959-61), 137-226, p. 190. Perhaps al-Sanūʿī is again Alguazir's direct source.

(cf. Q.4:156-7)). Jesus himself was raised into Heaven by almighty God, whence he will return at the End of Time to punish heretical beliefs and will rule in peace, and then be buried inside the Ka'ba on the Prophet's right-hand side [sic], after which the Day of Judgement will be imminent.⁴⁵ Again, the author draws attention to many contradictory aspects of the Christian beliefs. All this is evidence of the superiority of Islam. This superiority can also be perceived in daily life: While the oppressed and recently expelled Muslims of Spain⁴⁶ never stopped practicing Islam, the children of Christian converts to Islam always become good Muslims.⁴⁷ He then goes on to explain basic Muslims beliefs (such as the belief in God's Unity) on the basis of a number of Quranic verses, quoted here in Spanish,⁴⁸ and in a few words to explain the ceremonies (*ʿibâdât*) (f. 48r-f. 48v). He then returns to the Gospels, explaining the concept of *tahrîf* (though not calling it by that name, f. 49r-f. 49v). The extant gospels do not include either divine or human laws (*leyes divinas ni humanas*, f. 49v), so that the Christians are unable to base themselves on the scriptures for their laws, and use gentile Roman Law instead. The result is a situation which is in fact "lawlessness" (f. 50v). This shows their depravation, which becomes especially evident when they punish people for not believing that God has a son, etc. (f. 51r-f.

45 "Al los quales rrespondemos que chisto no murio sino que Dios ognipotente le alço a los zielos adonde esta agora. A de bolver al mundo a castigar las ereticas opioniones que contra ssus euangelios [Wadham College MS: su euangelio, f. 44v] le-bantaron. Reynara los años que Dios quisiere tan fertiles y tan pasificos que pareçeran a la jente quatro dias y morira. Se enterrara dentro del alcaba de nuestro sagrado profeta Muhammad a ssu lado derecho y de alli a breve tiempo ffinara el mundo anssi como Elias librandolo de los judios que lo procuraban matar...", f. 39v. The error (the Prophet is of course buried in Medina) was noticed by Taybili, see Taybili, *Cántico*, p. 191.

46 A clear indication that the work was written after 1609!

47 "...como bemos que en mas de zien años despues de la conquista de España por los chistianos jamas salieron de ssu ley los decendientes de moros hasta que agora en nuestros tiempos los desterraron los chistianos della, perdiendo de todo punto las es- peranças de que jamas adorarian con ellos las imagenes de corazon haunque cada dia los quemaban por moros y al contrario bbemos los chistianos en todas las con- quistas que abido en el mundo, anssi en España como en las demas tierras en bol- biendose uno moro lo es de coraçon pues bemos quel que ayer era Xpiano yba contra Xpiano con harmada y mata a los que adoran las imagenes haunque sean ssus hermanos y si algunos les queda alguna chistiandad encubierta salen sus hijos buenos moros, lo qual jamas se bee en los hijos de los que an ssido moros y los an echo xpianos por que ssus padres con qualquiera rraçon que de la ley de dios les dan hobra en ellos y baden uno en uno para siempre..." (BNM 9074, f. 45r-v, cf. *Epistola*, p. 107).

48 f. 46r-f. 48r.

51v). Moreover, the Messiah promised in the Law – so the author is led to believe – is the Holy Prophet Muḥammad.⁴⁹ In the same vein, the author goes on to discuss celibacy as a human invention in flat contradiction to Divine Law, resulting in the birth of many illegitimate children (f. 52r-f. 53v). At the end of his discussion of the Apostolic creed, the author concludes that what the Christians call the law of grace (*ley de gracia*) appears to be an erroneous, contradictory (*oppositibal*) and constructed (*conpuesta*) faith. In the next three, much shorter chapters, the perspective changes to the Catholic form of some Christian rituals of significant importance: the Eucharist, mass, and confession. Nowhere in these three chapters, however, is it made explicit that these rituals are predominantly Catholic, reference is again made to “the Christians” in general.

C. Chapters 5-7

Chapter Five deals with the Eucharist (*ostia*) (f. 54r-57v). First of all, the ritual is described, with particular attention paid to the transubstantiation and the words spoken by the priest. The author denies that the host could be God. Here, the author also seems to draw from his own experience. He has seen, for example, that churches were struck by lightning or destroyed by other natural disasters, destroying the hosts as well. How could such things happen if God were inside the hosts?⁵⁰ For, if He were there, would that not result in His death?

Chapter Six (57v-63r) is about the mass (*la missa o ssacriffizio*). Again, the author briefly describes the ritual. It is the gathering together of men and women in their temples, during which their priest mounts the altar, above which there are pictures of Christ and the Saints, just like the gentile idolaters have them. He then raises both a cup called chalice and the host. Only a priest is allowed to say mass (*dezir missa*), which implies that if no priest is present Christians are unable to celebrate mass, which again shows to what extent they are in error. Then they perform the ritual. Although temples are meant for prayer and weeping over sin, their mass is accompanied by organs, “the most beautiful musical instruments in the world”,⁵¹ and everything is allowed: they speak with each other and do all the things they are used to doing in the marketplace. The author then contrasts this picture with the solemnity of Muslim worship: the *adhân*, and the words used there (f. 60v); the purity ritual; the performance of the ablutions; the begin-

49 f. 52r, cf. Wiegiers, ‘Muḥammad as the Messiah’, pp. 245-6.

50 f. 56v-f. 57r.

51 “una de los mejores mussicas del mundo”, f. 59v-f. 60r.

ning of the salat, when the men cannot see the women; the silence during the service, which is led by someone “they [the Muslims] call the imam” (f. 61v); the salat ritual itself, quoting in Spanish the *Fâtiḥa* and discussing its significance (f. 61r-f. 63r).

Chapter seven (f. 63v-67v) describes and refutes the sacrament of confession. Here, he describes the penitent seated on his knees and telling the priest all his sins, after which he is absolved, no matter how grave his sins had been. Thus, the very grave sin of adultery is followed by a discretionary penance of carrying a cross on one’s back only (f. 65v). The author makes it clear that a priest does not have such powers. It is God who passes punishment or grants rewards. Not the confession of sins to a priest, but only true repentance may raise the believer’s hope of God’s forgiveness.

IV. The Latin Translation: Bodleian MS Arch. Selden B 8

In his well-known study of anti-Christian polemical literature written in Arabic, Moritz Steinschneider⁵² mentions the existence of a polemical text sent to Maurice, Prince of Orange, and to his brother-in-law Immanuel of Portugal (ca. 1568-1638) by one of the first ambassadors of Mawlâẏ Zaydân to the Low Countries, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allâh. The latter appended his name to the text not only as its sender, but as its author as well.⁵³ Of this polemical text only a Latin version, which had already gone through several printings, was known to Steinschneider. Steinschneider assumed that this Latin version was based on an Arabic original.

Comparison shows that this polemical text in Latin⁵⁴ is a faithful translation of the first seven chapters of Muḥammad Alguazir’s polemic, albeit not devoid of a number of interesting differences, which will be discussed below.⁵⁵ Keeping in mind our analysis of the work in general and

52 See M. Steinschneider: ‘Polemische und apologetische Literatur in Arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden’, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 6, n.3 (1878), pp. 117-8.

53 Such letters are known from other times as well, see for example: H. de Castries: ‘Une apologie de l’islam par un Sultan du Maroc’, *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions*, 47(1903), 174-205, dealing with polemical letters sent to the English King James II by the Moroccan sultan Mawlâẏ Ismâʿîl in 1698. On Immanuel see J.L.J. van der Kamp, *Emanuel van Portugal en Emilia van Nassau*, Assen, 1980.

54 From this point on I will base myself on Grapius’s edition, *Ahmet ben-Abdala. Mohamedani epistola* (cited as *Epistola*), Rostock, 1705, and on the Selden manuscript.

55 Compare for example the beginning the letter itself (p. 33 of the *Epistola*) and the

the first preface in particular it seems clear that not Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, but Alguazir was the author of this work: there seems to be no reason to doubt the authenticity of the report that it was actually Zaydān who gave the order to write such a work for Christian readers. The seven chapters discussed above indeed form a complete whole, perhaps identical with an early (the original?) version of the work, made, as we will show below, between 1609 and 1612, when it found its way to the Netherlands. That it was the original version is also suggested by the following. First of all, at the end of chapter seven we find a sort of conclusion, which in the Madrid manuscript (f. 67v) is also made visible in the manuscript by a flourish. Secondly, there is a difference in the subject matter of the first seven chapters and chapter eight. In chapter eight the focus is no longer on the refutation of the Apostolic creed and on the rituals based on it, but rather on the Islamic doctrine of the Divine Attributes (Ar. *al-sifāt*) and its incompatibility with Christian dogma. For that reason it seems to address an Islamic rather than a Christian readership, and is of less interest to the latter than the first seven chapters.

The printed text mentioned above was based on a Latin manuscript, copied by Grapius's predecessor, Gottfried Christian Goetze, from a unique manuscript that had once belonged to the well-known jurist and orientalist John Selden (1584-1654).⁵⁶ Selden, who had studied in Oxford, amassed an enormous collection, which also included Arabic manuscripts. Although a large part of his collection was destroyed by fire in about 1680, we still find the manuscript in question in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (MS Arch. Selden B 8).⁵⁷ This manuscript provides some very interesting new infor-

beginning of the introduction in Madrid, B.N. 9074, f. 6r-v: The Latin text reads "Articuli fidei sunt quatuordecim. Septem primi pertinent divinitati, septem reliqui humanitati. Quatuor primi sunt isti. Primus credere in unum solum DEUM 2 Credere eum esse Patrem 3. Credere eum esse Filium 4. Credere eum esse Spiritum Sanctum. hi quatuor ita sibi invicem contradicunt, ut vix sit opus refutatione, et certe hic error de trinitate maximus est omnium. Nullus enim humanus intellectus potest percipere vel etiam intelligere, unum et idem esse Patrem, Filium et Spiritum S. in unic sol essenti et uno eodem tempore", and Muhammad Alguazir (MS 9074): "Capitulo primero de la contradizion de los quatro articulos primeros que sson creher en un ssolo Dios todopoderosso el ssegundo creher ques padre el terçero creher ques hijo el quatro ques espirito santo son estos quatro atributos tan contrarios en ssi que cassi no tienen nezesidad de contradizion pues ellos mismos se contradizen haçiendo que uno ssea padre y ese mismo sea hijo y ese mismo sea espiritu ssanto, en un tiempo y en una exsençia ..."

56 *Epistola*, p. 3.

57 F. Madan and H.H. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*. Oxford, 1922, facsimile edition München, 1980, vol. II, pp. 594-5.

mation about the history of the polemic, as will be seen below. But first of all, we need to pay some attention to the history of our polemical text in Western Europe, a history that has remained very much in the dark so far.

Interesting information about Islamic polemical texts sent to Maurice can be found in the funeral oration by G.J. Vossius on the occasion of the death of the famous Dutch Arabist Thomas Erpenius in 1624. In his account of Erpenius's scholarly work, Vossius mentions the fact that Erpenius had been preparing an edition of "three letters sent by the king of Marrakesh to the illustrious Prince of Orange, together with a refutation".⁵⁸ Although this is all Vossius tells us about these works, it is clear that these letters were not ordinary diplomatic letters, but probably polemical ones. Moreover, this passage provides independent testimony to the fact that polemical texts were indeed exchanged within the context of diplomatic relations. Since we lack further evidence, it is impossible to identify among these three letters the polemic which concerns us here. Nothing else is known about the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the text, except that John Selden himself included the part on confession⁵⁹ in his *De synedriis & praefecturis juridicis veterum Ebraeorum* (Frankfurt 1696). Let us therefore return to the Selden manuscript.

The section which concerns us is divided into two parts. The first part (occupying f. 210r-f. 234v) consists of the preface and of the anti-Christian polemic sent to Maurice and Immanuel of Portugal by Aḥmad b. °Abd Allāh. The second part is a discussion of several theological positions adopted by Islam with respect to the relationship between God's omnipotence and man's free will (f. 234v - f. 240v). This section is at the same time paginated independently from the other texts in the manuscript (p. 1 to 62). Apparently, this was the original pagination of the texts before they were included in the manuscript. As has been mentioned before, these texts, both in Latin, were printed several times. The first edition, the one by Zacharias Grapius of 1705, contains the letter addressed to Maurice, together with a discussion and refutation in the critical notes. A year later he also edited the discussion on free will.⁶⁰

58 G.J. Vossius, *Oratio in obitum clarissimi ac praestantissimi viri Thomae Erpenii, Orientalium linguarum in Academia Leidensi Professoris*. Lugduni Batavorum, 1625, p. 26, cf. W.M.C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche Beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Diss. Utrecht), Utrecht, 1931, p. 111.

59 *Epistola*, pp. 130-136, Alguazir, chapter 7.

60 H.F. Wijnman, 'De Hebraïcus Jan Theunisz. Barbarossius alias Johannes Antonides als lector in het Arabisch aan de Leidse Universiteit (1612-1613). Een hoofdstuk Amsterdamse geleerdengeschiedenis', *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 2, no. 1 (1968), 1-41.

V. A Survey of the Two Islamic Texts Contained in the Selden Manuscript

A. The First Text.

The main part of the Latin anti-Christian polemic consists of a complete translation of chapters 1-7 of Alguazir's work, although some of the materials are found here in a slightly different order. We will further analyze that below. The only part of the Latin polemic that is in fact *completely* different from Alguazir's polemic is the introduction, which entirely replaces the prefaces of the Madrid and Wadham manuscripts.

The 'author', Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, begins the preface by telling us that a splendid banquet (*splendida mensa*) was given in the Hague in 1610.⁶¹ During this banquet, Maurice, a Protestant, and his Catholic brother-in-law, Immanuel of Portugal, had questioned him about the Muslim view of Jesus. He had had two reasons, he explains, to answer 'now' rather than at that occasion.⁶² First of all, the moment had not been suitable. An important question like that could not be answered in a satisfactory way during a banquet (*inter prandendum*). Secondly, he had felt that he first needed to consult sources such as Qur'ānic commentaries (*interpretatio sancti Alcorani*), the works dealing with the Unity [the *tawḥīd*, i.e. works of theology] by the very learned 'Zidi Mehemet Elemuci' (al-Sanūsī?) 'Zidi Mohamet Eleir' (very likely Muḥammad Alguazir, which means that here, in passing, he reveals what probably was, as will be seen below, his only and true source), the Sacred Scripture (*Sacra Scriptura*, i.e. the Old Testament), and the Gospels (*Evangelia*).⁶³ Then he gives a brief introduction of basic Muslim beliefs, especially with regard to its prophetology and the predictions of the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad in Jewish and Christians writings. Even though he considers Islam to be generally superior, he makes an exception with respect to matters of politics, in which he acknowledges the superiority of his Christian contemporaries. He immediately adds, however, that there is no doubt in his mind that the Muslims will improve, and that matters of state are of secondary importance to the well-being of indi-

no. 2(1968), pp. 149-177, 17, n. 49. There also seems to be an edition published in Altdorf in existence, called *Mohammedica, sive dissertatio epistolaris de veritate religionis Christianae, etc.* (1700).

61 *Epistola*, p. 8.

62 "...causae enim duae me moverunt cur nunc potius, quam tunc respondere mauerim".

63 *Epistola*, pp. 14-17.

viduals, which first of all depends on the soundness of their religious beliefs. He also announces passages in the main text which will refer to the political activities of the Princes regarding certain religious affairs.⁶⁴ This way, he stipulates a clear relationship between the discussions with the Princes and the contents of the treatise. There is an unequivocal claim of authorship when the ambassador speaks about his attempts to address the princes in a learned style. He shows a keen awareness of the delicacy of his undertaking, and begs their pardon at the end of the prologue for possibly having expressed himself too freely.

The second element of the text which is to be found in the Selden manuscript, but completely absent from Alguazir's text, is a very interesting colophon at the very end of the treatise, which reads as follows:

If anything [in this letter] has been put too outspokenly, then I pray with all my heart that this my audacity may be forgiven, as your excellencies are wont to do because of the generosity and goodness characteristic of your natures, and I would think that I had failed to accomplish my task if I had not answered such an important question posed to me by such important Princes. And if that did not happen sooner, it was for the sole reason that I was unable to find a trustworthy messenger,⁶⁵ like the present bearer, who at the same time will hand a transcript to the Lord of Aguila, who, I hope, will also reply in spite of my rude pen. And herewith I conclude this treatise, again asking for forgiveness, which (I doubt not) has already been granted to me by such fine and great kings, you, my Lords. And I pray to God for you, I, the aforesaid Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, of Cantabrian origin and a member of the Marrón family, I, who wishes you all sorts of happiness, greatness, power, and life. Sent from Marrakesh at the beginning of the year 1021 of the Hijra of our Lord Muḥammad, the salvation and the blessing of God be with him, and with all other Prophets and Saints. Amen. Amen.⁶⁶

64 *Epistola*, p. 32: "Addam praeterea in fine, quae a Principe Portugalliae (in Civitatibus et locis Pontificiis Germaniae, per quas transibamus) fieri audivi, etiam quid sit in causa, quare Presbyteri et sacerdotes Pontificiorum non ducant Uxores".

65 The Latin word *lator* used here is very unusual. Normal would be *cursor*.

66 Dated on p. 136: "si igitur quidquam liberius dictum est, obnixè oro ut huic meae audaciae ignoscatur, ut benignitate et summae virtuti Ecellentiarum Vestrarum mos est, neque videbatur fecisse satis meo officio, nisi tantae interrogationi, et tantis Principibus responderetur. Qvod si antehac factum non est, ideo solum est, quia non invenirem latorem fidum ut hic est, qui una dabit Domino Aquilae aliam copiam, quem spero etiam responsurum meo rudi stylo. Et ita imponam huic scripto finem.

The colophon marks the end of the first letter and at this point Grapius's edition stops. The use of the Spanish word "del" in the Latin text strongly suggests that the original colophon was written in Spanish, and that this was the language in which it was sent to Maurice. Muḥarram 1021 coincides with March 1612. The Selden manuscript now immediately continues as follows:

I [sic] have found three words in the original which, in my opinion, are corrupt, viz. Jorocina, Zager, and acanim, which, I think, if they are not Arabic (in which case I must beg the author's pardon) should be read as follows: instead of Jorocina Jorash Synay⁶⁷ instead of Zager Hager (about which see Paul, Galatians, chapter 4.⁶⁸), and instead of Acanim Archai or Archa,⁶⁹ but *without the author's consent* [my italics] I dare not change anything. The Lord of Aguila and I twice or thrice exchanged views on free will, but left the problem undecided. Now I will truly answer him and will disclose to him what the Muslims think about this subject. Although opinions on the matter vary, there are three main [currents] the Qadaris, the Jabris and the Sunnis...⁷⁰

petens iterum veniam, qvam mihi concessam non dubito, a talibus et tantis Principibus Dominis meis, pro qvibus Deum orat omnipotentem qvi omnem felicitatem, magnitudinem, potentiam et vitam eis cupit supra nominatus Ahmet Benaudala, natione Cantaber et familia Marron. Dat. Marrochii in principio anni mille et viginti unum del [sic, the Spanish word] Haxara Domini nostri Mahumeti, salus et Gloria DEI sit supra eum, et supra omnes prophetas alios, et sanctos, amen, amen".

67 See *Epistola*, p. 21, "Deus igitur dixit in Sacris litteris se venturum per Jorocina, et provenire intelligitur sancta ejus lex, et fore ut splendeat per Zager, quod est Jerusalem, et fore ut exaltetur in Pharan, quod est Mecha, ubi apparuit noster sanctissimus propheta et dei nuncius Mahumetus".

68 Gal. 4 verses 21-31, explaining that the meaning of Hagar was Sinai. Aḥmad b. °Abd Allāh is wrong. It should be read as Seir, see below.

69 MS 9074, f. 23r, "...por lo qual se conoçe ser el Dios que adoran tres acanim que en lengua griega significa [a word is missing in the Madrid MS, the Wadham Ms (f. 26r) reads: principio o origen de la cossa]. El acnon del sser diçen ser el padre, y el acnon del ssaber diçen ser el hijo, y el acnon de uida diçen ser el espiritu ssancto, y destos prinzipios o caussa diçen ser un ssolo dios....". The word *acanim* is Ar. *uqnûm*, pl. *aqânîm*, from Syriac *qnwm'* and not a Greek word which the manuscripts transcribe as *acnon* or *agnon* (I am indebted here to my colleague Dr.K.D.Jenner of the Peshitta Institute, Leiden), usually used for the persons of the Trinity in Islamic theology. On the doctrine of the hypostases, cf. *Encyclopedia of Religion*, s.v. [art. B.A. Pearson], *hupostasis* is a Greek noun that became an important term in philosophical and theological speculation. Plotinus (3d c.) is the originator of the Neoplatonic doctrine of the hypostases or first principles (*archai*).

70 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden B 8, p. 50: "Tria vocalibus inveniri in
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Then indeed follows the summary of the said theological views, refuting the views of the Qadaris and the Jabris and subscribing to the Sunnite (read: Ashʿarite) view. The MS concludes with a simple “Amen”, and: “[written by] Ahmet Benaudala, who wishes you happiness, life and all good things”. At the very end we find the following remark: “Moreover, his (Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh’s) name was written here in Arabic script”.⁷¹

The first thing which needs clarification is the identity of the ‘sender’: Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh came to the Low Countries to continue the negotiations leading to the conclusion of the treaty in 1610. He arrived in the Low Countries in June 1610. During his stay in the Netherlands he was present at Jülich (near Aachen) at one of the battles against the Catholics fought by Johan Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, who was assisted by the Dutch, French, and German Protestants.⁷²

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh was not the first Moroccan ambassador coming to the Netherlands. From the end of the 16th century onwards, the Dutch had been trying to establish treaties with several Muslim powers, among which Morocco and the Ottoman Empire stand out. Dutch motives for establishing friendly relations with Morocco were closely connected with the common hostility of both states towards Spain. After some initial rather feeble attempts, hindered by the civil strife in Morocco following the death of sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in 1603, some encouraging results were achieved after one of al-Manṣūr’s sons, Mawḷāy Zaydān, had acceded to power in Marrakesh in about 1608. With him, the Dutch were to establish stable relations. In token of their good intentions, the Dutch sent Zaydān the warships he had requested. This meant the beginning of a series of negotiations which culminated in the conclusion of a “treaty of friendship and free commerce” in December 1610, also providing “free access and friendly re-

Originali, qua meo iudicio videntur corrupta, quae sunt Jorocina, Zager, & acanim & nisi sint Arabica (authoris venia) puto debere dici pro Jorocina Jorash Synay, et pro Zager, Hager, de quo Paulus ad Gal: cap.: 4. Et pro Acanim, Archai, sive Archa; tamen vero sine Authoris licentia ego nolui quidquam mutare. //51// Dominus de Aquila et Ego etiam miscuimus sermones bis aut ter de libero arbitrio, reliquimus tamen questionem indecisam. Nunc vero illi respondebo et aperiam una quid in hac materia sentiamus Mauri: quo de re quamvis varie sunt sententiae, praecipue tamen sunt tres Cadarias, Jeberias et Zunis”.

71 “Qui felicitatem, vitam et omne bonum tibi cupit, Ahmet Benaudula. Literis Arabicis erat praeterea hic in fine subscriptum nomen ejus”, Oxford, Bodl. Arch. Selden B 8, p. 62.

72 *Epistola*, p. 32, p. 124.

ception to their respective subjects without need for any safeguards or safe-conducts, no matter how they come to each other's territory".

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh seems to have been a convert. This is in agreement with the assessment quoted above in the *Epistola*, according to which he originated from Cantabria, a region in Northern Spain. Nothing is known, however, about his life in Morocco before his appearance on the international political scene in about 1610. He calls himself a *qā'id*, thus suggesting a military or administrative function.⁷³ In several documents signed by him we find the *nisba* al-Marunī.⁷⁴ Sometimes he uses the *nisba* al-Ḥayṭī as well.⁷⁵ The merchant Giorgio de Henin speaks about him as Hamete el Haitia Biscayno,⁷⁶ also pointing to an origin in Northern Spain. This origin is confirmed by a remark in the Resolutions of the States General that both he and Aguila were from the Basque Country.⁷⁷ Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh left the Low Countries in January 1611.⁷⁸

The person mentioned here as the Lord of Aguila, was an enigmatic figure known by various names, among which Enriques de Aguila and Francisco de Gamboa. Like Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh he probably was a Spaniard from Northern Spain, but, unlike the former, Aguila had become a Protestant after he had left Spain in about 1604. From Spain he went to the Netherlands, where he married into the well-known family of high standing called Van Lynden. In 1610 he offered his services to the States General to negotiate with the Moroccan Sultan Zaydān that a loan the latter granted to the States (consisting of f. 1,500,000) might be converted into a gift.⁷⁹ According to the archival documents, the States mistrusted him and decided not to grant him an official mission, but merely to write a letter of introduc-

73 *EL*², s.v. *kā'id* (art. G.S. Colin). Perhaps he is identical with an individual called Amad b. ʿAbd Allāh, who was *qā'id* of Alqaṣr, Tetuan, Larache and Aṣila in 1594 (Gozalbes Busto, *Los Moriscos*, p. 112, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MSS 9741, f. 84v-87).

74 See for example, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc. Première série-dynastie sa'dienne. Archives et Bibliothèques des Pays-Bas*, I, pp. 526, 585.

75 See for example Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 495 (unfoliated).

76 Jorge de Henin, *Del sitio del Reyno de Marruecos y de su disposicion y vmor de la gente*, Madrid, 1614, Biblioteca Nacional Madrid, MSS 17645, f. 143.

77 *Les sources inédites, Première série, Pays-Bas*, I, p. 533, "Die heere Brien en heeft voorgegeven, dat voor weynich dagen die heere ambassadeur van Marocos, soo door den jode Pallachio als by syn eygen persoon, heeft aengegeven dat Syn Edele hadde kennisse gemaect metten heer Aquila, die beyde Biscains waren....".

78 J. Caillé, "Ambassades et missions marocaines aux Pays-Bas à l'époque des sultans Saadiens", *Hespéris-Tamuda*, 4(1963), 5-67, pp. 33-38.

79 See about him above all *Les sources inédites, première série, Pays-Bas*, I, p. 531, n.2.

tion for him. Even the letter was never written.⁸⁰ Moreover, informed about the seizure of Larache (1610), Aguila apparently changed his mind and decided not to go to Morocco. An Englishman, Ralph Winwood, suggests this much in a letter written at The Hague, 29 December 1610: “Here is a Spaniard married in Guelderland, who calleth himself d’Agula. He presented his service of the States, to be employed to the King of Morocco, in exchange of the dowble ambassage⁸¹ which hath come from him; but the late newes of the surprise of Larache hath advised him to change his mynde; dowbting of the surety of his passage, and of his treatment (being banished out of Spayne) if his ill fortune should be to be taken”.⁸²

It seems to appear from the above that Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh was not the original author of the anti-Christian polemic, even though this seems likely from the text of the polemical treatise addressed to the Princes. Up to the introductory passage to the discussion on free will and predestination, there seemed to be no reason to believe that Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh should not be the author. And this was exactly the part that was sent to the Princes. The Selden manuscript, however, seems to be based on a later version, in which the ambassador also included a view on free will which was not meant to be read to the Princes. There, in a text in which he addresses himself to another reader, whom I have not been able to identify, he implicitly admits he was engaged in reproducing texts written by somebody else: He now tells us that he does not dare to change some of the words which, according to him, are corrupt, without the author’s approval. Here he seems to speak the truth about his not being the author, confirmed by the existence of the Spanish treatise of Muḥammad Alguazir.

At the same time, however, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh was apparently capable of making observations on some of the flaws in the text he had before him. Not all of the words criticized by him, however, are to be found in Alguazir’s Spanish text. The words *Jorocina* and *Hager*, for example, are part of the introduction. This means that between him and Alguazir’s polemic, as it is extant today, a process of adaptation took place (which could well have been carried out by Alguazir himself, but could also have been someone else’s work). In the case of the name *Hager*, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh’s emendation is not correct, the passage in question being a *locus classicus* of anti-Christian and anti-Jewish polemics.⁸³ The word should be read as *Seir*.

80 Ibidem, I, p. 557.

81 I.e. of ʿAḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥayṭī al-Marunī and Samuel Pallache.

82 Cf. *Les sources inédites de l’histoire du Maroc. Première série-dynastie saʿdienne. Archives et Bibliothèques d’Angleterre*, II, p. 458.

83 C. Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible from Ibn Rabbān to*

The case of the word *acanim* is more difficult. Here Amad b. ʿAbd Allāh shows he is unaware of the fact that this is an Arabic plural (*aqânîm*) which is derived from the Syriac (not Greek, as Alguazir would have us believe). Although the Greek *archè* is indeed used in the same context (see above), *acanim* is certainly no corruption.

VI. Differences between the Latin Text and Alguazir's Text

The most noteworthy changes in the letter by the ambassador are to be found in the passages following the passage in which Muḥammad is called the Messiah.⁸⁴ The Latin text pursues the argument by elaborating on the Paraclete, immediately followed by a summary of the reasons for refuting articles 6 and 7. Then, there is a transition to memories of his journey through Germany, and of how he had seen the Prince of Portugal protecting the Catholic mass there. This gives cause for a discussion of the mass, including the host (p. 124), which faithfully follows Alguazir (Alguazir's chapters 5 and 6 being dealt with together), then of marriage for priests (p. 129), and finally of confession (p. 130).

Whereas the Spanish text speaks of "Christians", the Latin one leaves no doubt in one's mind that it is in fact the Church of Rome that is under attack. We may compare, for example, BNM MS 9074: "With respect to the prohibition of the marriage of clerics, this is against God's law",⁸⁵ and the following translation: "In the Papist religion no priest is allowed to marry".⁸⁶ In general, where Alguazir reads Christians (*Cristianos*), the Latin text reads 'supporters of the Papacy', 'Papists' (*Pontificii*), clearly referring to the Catholic Church. It is unclear whether this change was a deliberate one, which is also to be found in the original version sent to the

Ibn Hazm (Ph.D. thesis Nijmegen), Nijmegen, 1993, p. 276, "[Ibn Qutayba] said: And among the signs concerning him in the Torah is that it is said: "God came from Sinai and rose up from Seir and appeared from the mountains of Paran" (cf. Deut. 33:2). [...]. Now, as God's rising up from Seir must refer to the Messiah, so His appearance from the mountains of Paran must mean His revelation of the Koran to Muammad on the mountains of Paran, which are the mountains of Mecca. There is no disagreement between the Muslims and the People of the Book concerning the fact that Paran is Mecca, and if they do allege that it is somewhere other than Mecca – for their misrepresentations and lies are undeniable – we shall say, Is it not in the Torah that Abraham settled Hagar and Ishmael in Paran?"

84 *Epistola*, p. 120.

85 f. 52r: "en cuanto al no cassarse los clerigos es al contrario de la ley de Dios..."

86 *Epistola*, p. 129, "in pontificia religione nullus sacerdos potest ducere uxorem"⁸⁶⁵⁶²¹⁻⁵

Princes, but if this was indeed the case, the effect was undoubtedly that the last part of the polemic now seemed to be directed against Roman Catholicism only, rather than against Christianity in general, Protestantism included. Since this change softened its anti-Protestant fervour, it may have been understood as an attempt to stress points of view Islam and Protestantism had in common. Another alteration seems to suggest that this may indeed have been the case. Where Alguazir speaks about the distinction between Muslims and Christians because of their different dogmas with respect to Jesus's death, the Latin translation speaks about the distinction between Protestants and the supporters of the Papacy due to the former's denial of papal authority.⁸⁷

VII. Conclusions

It seems likely that the Spanish treatise dealt with in this article was commissioned by the Moroccan sultan Mawlây Zaydân in order to serve as a polemic against Christianity which was to be read by a Christian readership. I have shown that this polemic is the main source of the polemic which Zaydân's ambassador sent to the Netherlands in 1612. This ambassador, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allâh al-Ḥaytî al-Marunî, cannot have been the author himself. The person likely to have been the true author was the Morisco Muḥammad Alguazir. Although he may not have been a religious scholar with a sound knowledge of all the aspects of Islamic theology in Morocco at the time (we have seen that he commits some minor as well as major errors), Alguazir had probably more knowledge of Christian theology and of the religious beliefs and customs of the Christians than others. Moreover, he was able to write in the language the Princes understood: Spanish, the language he used for his polemical work. It seems likely that the letter actually sent by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allâh was in Spanish as well; we have seen that the colophon preserves an isolated Spanish word, the occurrence of which can only be explained if we assume that the original letter was written in Spanish. The Latin translation seems to have been made by someone else.

Alguazir's work is probably one of the earliest texts written by a Morisco in exile after 1609; we have shown that it can be dated between 1609,

87 BNM MS 9074, f. 43r, Wadham MS, f. 48v): "...y los demas que cree y tiene la yglesia rromana segun los que ssiguen a San Pedro y a Papas y dizen ban condenados, y siendo anssi que amor hobro Dios con la jente y si por no creher su muerte ban al ynfierno? Latin: Si hoc esset verum, unde apparet amor Dei, si sola ea causa (qvia non credunt Pontifici, aut ejus Decretis) dampnarentur?"

the year in which the expulsion of the Moriscos began, and early 1612, the date mentioned in the colophon of the Selden manuscript.

A large part of the texts known to have been written by Moriscos in the Diaspora are polemical in nature. Several of these texts aimed at the re-Islamization of the Moriscos, and were clearly meant for a Morisco readership. Others, however, were originally addressed to a Christian readership. The text by Alguazir is an excellent example of the second category. It became one of the most important sources for nearly all future anti-Christian works written by Moriscos in Spanish between 1609 and 1639, the period in which Spanish is known to have been used as a written language among Spanish Muslims exiled to North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. How is this influence to be explained? Does its origin have anything to do with it? Or is it because of its contents? In view of a lack of evidence that al-Sanûsî's works circulated in 16th-century Spain, we may assume that Moriscos apparently came into contact with them only after their expulsion. The Islamic texts written in exile provide ample testimony to how influential they became in Morisco circles. Al-Sanûsî's work was even translated by them into Spanish.⁸⁸ In the Maghrib, the Moriscos were apparently no longer interested in the creeds they had greatly valued in Spain, such as the famous "Thirteen Articles of the Muslim faith", composed by the Mudejar *faqîh* Yça of Segovia (fl. about 1450).⁸⁹ Alguazir seems to have been the first witness to a process among the Moriscos that can perhaps be best described as "catching up with current developments in Ash'arite theology". Since Ash'arism was orthodox theology in Morocco at the time, it is of course not surprising to find the influence of al-Sanûsî in a work such as this, commissioned by the Sultan of Marrakesh. Perhaps we may regard the interest in al-Sanûsî which the expelled Moriscos evinced once they had left Spain as arising to some extent from their need to come to terms with the official doctrine they encountered in their new homelands. This is not to say that the work did not meet the real intellectual need which they felt for a 'modern' critique of the Christian creed written in their own Spanish language and taking as its point of departure that very creed, for in it they had all to some extent been indoctrinated.

88 Wadham College A 17.16, cf. L.P. Harvey, 'A Morisco Manuscript in the Godolphin Collection at Wadham College, Oxford', *Al-Andalus*, 27(1962), 461-465.

89 cf. Wiegiers, 'Muhammad as the Messiah', p. 268.

ISLAM IN SPAIN DURING THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE VIEWS OF THE FOUR CHIEF JUDGES IN CAIRO (INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION AND ARABIC TEXT)

BY

P.S. VAN KONINGSVELD AND G.A. WIEGERS*

Leiden University

Even though they were living outside Muslim territory, Spain's Muslim minorities were far from isolated from *dâr al-islâm*. We can distinguish between several kinds of contacts. In the first place, the Spanish authorities often permitted the Muslims to travel to Islamic territory for religious reasons, including the *hajj* to Mecca, and the consultation of Muftis (in Granada for example).¹ Secondly, Muslims from Christian Spain travelled to and from the Islamic world for family visits, commercial reasons² and occasionally to serve as interpreters in diplomatic delegations.

A different kind of contact resulted from the presence in Christian Spain of Muslims from abroad, such as merchants, ambassadors and –probably the largest category– slaves. Some of these slaves were in fact Muslim intellectuals who settled in Christian Spain. Ibn al-Zubayr tells us about a certain Ibn al-Šaffâr from Córdoba who had studied with the famous Ibn Rushd, grandfather of Averroes. Crossing the Straits of Gibraltar, he had been captured by the Christians and brought to Toledo as a slave. After he had regained his freedom he did not return to Islamic territory, but married in Toledo and earned a living by teaching the Quran in Toledo's Muslim quarter until his death in 640/1242.³ At the beginning of the 14th century, another Muslim captive, the Tunisian *faqîh* Muḥammad b. Sirâj al-Qaysî,

* The authors are engaged in the research project "Islam and the West", of the Department for the History of Religions, of the Faculty of Theology of Leiden University. The research of G.A. Wiegiers was made possible by a fellowship of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW).

1 G.A. Wiegiers: *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors*, Leiden etc. 1994, p. 83n.

2 M.D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1991, p. 141.

3 Ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitâb šilat al-šila* (ed. ^cAbd al-Salâm al-Harrâs en Sa^cîd A^crâb), III [Rabat] 1993/1413, pp. 68-69 (no.84).

wrote an anti-Christian polemical treatise in Arabic which left profound marks in Mudejar and Morisco writings in Catalonia.⁴

It seems therefore clear that the Muslim minorities, both in Mudejar and Morisco times, were far from static and isolated entities and that during the entire period of their existence, there was an awareness in Islamic countries of the vicissitudes of the Muslim minorities. This awareness is illustrated in a convincing way by the numerous discussions of the *fuqahâ* of the learned centres of Islam on the position of the Muslims subjected to Christian rule. In a recent article we have presented a first analysis of a hitherto unknown Arabic manuscript containing discussions of Andalusian and Egyptian scholars about the position of the Muslims of Christian Spain, viz. (1) a *fatwâ* of the Andalusian scholar, Ibn Rabîc (d. 719/1320), about the statute of Islam under Christian rule, and (2) *fatwâs* of the Chief Judges of the four Sunnite *madhhabs* in Cairo concerning the statute of Islam under Christian rule in Spain.⁵

The first, extensive text seems to be the only complete Andalusian *fatwâ* on this vital issue known so far, while the second, shorter text at once places the same issue within the broader scope of the inter-*madhhab* discussions in East and West concerning the statute of Muslim minorities in general.

Without repeating the relevant sections of our recent article, the purpose of the present contribution is to publish and translate the second of these texts, which contains the *fatwâs* of the four Chief Judges of Cairo concerning some vital problems faced by Muslims living in Christian Spain. As will become clear below, these *fatwâs* date back to the early 16th century, a few years before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. This text is thus directly relevant to the relations between Christian Spain and Mamluk Egypt in general, and the religious and political status of the Mudejars in particular.

We base ourselves on a set of photocopies of parts of a privately owned Arabic manuscript from a village near the Moroccan city of Tetuan. The pages of the MS at our disposal contain no indication of the place or date of copying, but their script is strikingly similar to the one we know in Arabic manuscripts from 16th-century Spain. One could imagine that they had been brought to North Africa by some Morisco immigrant during the 16th, or early 17th, century.

4 P.S. van Koningsveld and G.A. Wiegiers: 'The Polemical Works of Muḥammad al-Qaysî (fl. 1309) and their Circulation in Arabic and Aljamiado among the Mudejars in the Fourteenth Century', in: *Al-Qantara*, 15(1994), pp. 163-199.

5 P.S. van Koningsveld and G.A. Wiegiers: 'The Islamic Statute of the Mudejars in the Light of a New Source', in: *Al-Qantara*, 17(1996), pp. 19-58.

Date

With the help of Ibn Iyâs' chronicle, the legal specialists belonging to the four Sunnite *madhhabs* in Egypt can be identified as the Chief Judges of the four *madhhabs* in Cairo who were in office *between July 1508 and April 1513*. This identification is only possible, however, if we assume that some scribal errors have changed the correct spelling of two out of the four names.

The names that can be identified with complete certainty are those of Muḥammad ibn ʿAlî al-Qâdirî al-Shâfiʿî and Aḥmad ibn ʿAlî al-Ḥanbalî. The full name of the former was Kamâl al-Dîn Abû ʿl-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Nûr al-Dîn ʿAlî ibn al-Naṣîrî Muḥammad ibn al-Sayfî Bahâdur al-ʿUmarî al-Qâdirî al-Ṭawîl.⁶ Judging from the data provided by Ibn Iyâs, his first appointment as Shâfiʿite Chief Judge took place on the last day of the month of Ṣafar 914 (29 June 1508).⁷ He was discharged from this office after the Feast of Sacrifices and the *ayyâm al-tashrîq* of the month of Dhû ʿl-Hijja of the year 915 (27 March 1510),⁸ but reinstalled on 17 Jumâdâ I 916 (23 August 1510).⁹ He was discharged from this office on 8 Dhû ʿl-Qaʿda 919 (5 January 1514) but reinstalled on 27 Rajab 921 (7 September 1515).¹⁰

As for the Ḥanbalite imam, his full name was Shihâb al-Dîn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlî ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Shîshînî al-Ḥanbalî. He is mentioned by Ibn Iyâs as the Ḥanbalîte Chief Judge of Egypt for the first time in the year 902,¹¹ and also in the years 907, 908, 913 and 919 (Shawwâl). He died on 7 Ṣafar 919 (15 April 1513) while occupying the same position.¹² His signature in the manuscript under discussion informs us that he had been working as a *muftî* in Mecca before his appointment in Cairo: “Written by him who is in need of His blessing, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlî al-Ḥanbalî, servant of the Venerable and Holy Law in the two Noble Ḥarams and later in Egypt”.

The imam mentioned in the manuscript by the name of ʿAbd al-Barr ibn Ishâq al-Ḥanafî can be identified with the Ḥanafite Chief Judge ʿAbd al-Barr ibn al-Shihna, with the assumption of a scribal error in the transmission

6 A biographical note on him is given by al-Ghazzî, *Al-Kawâkib al-sâ'ira bi-ʿayn al-mi'a al-ʿashira*, ed. by J.S. Jabbûr, Bayrût 1945ff., vol. 2, pp. 45-46.

7 Ibn Iyâs, *Badâ'î ʿal-zuhûr fî waqâ'î ʿal-duhûr*, ed. by M. Mustafâ, Wiesbaden 1960-1992, 12 vols (= Bibliotheca Islamica 5), vol. 4, p. 132.

8 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 171.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 189.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 350 and 469.

11 *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 363.

12 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 14, 30, 11, 344; cf. vol. 5, p. 92.

of the text, changing the name of al-Shihna into that of Ishâq. Judging from the chronicle of Ibn Iyâs, ‘Abd al-Barr ibn al-Shihna occupied the post of Hanafite Chief Judge in 906 for the first time.¹³ He was confirmed in his position in the beginning of Şafar 908 and in 909.¹⁴ He died on 28 Rajab 921 (8 September 1515).¹⁵

Finally, the Malikite imam mentioned in the manuscript by the name of Muḥammad ibn al-Muḥibb can be identified with Yaḥyâ Muḥyî al-Dîn al-Damîrî, if we assume that “Yaḥyâ” was corrupted into “Muḥammad”, and “Muḥyî” into “Muḥibb”. After the death of his father he was appointed Malikite Chief Judge of Egypt on 17 Shawwâl 913 (16 February 1508).¹⁶ He occupied the same post in 919¹⁷ and was still there in Ramadan 921.¹⁸ According to Aḥmad Bâbâ his full name was Yaḥyâ ibn Ibrâhîm ibn ‘Umar al-Damîrî. He continued to serve as chief judge under the rule of the Ottoman Sultan Salîm and, for some years, under his son Sulaymân. He died in 939/1532-3.¹⁹

As the *fatwâs* in all likelihood were written at a moment when all four previously identified specialists occupied the office of Chief Judge of their *madhhab* in Egypt, it follows that these texts have to be dated between the last day of the month of Şafar 914 or 29 June 1508 (the date of the first appointment of the Shâfi‘ite Chief Judge) and 7 Şafar 919 or 15 April 1513 (the date on which the Ḥanbalite Chief Judge died).

Historical background

As we have shown in our previously quoted article in *Al-Qantara*, the geographical origin of the questions was undoubtedly Mudejar Valencia or Aragon. But this does not mean that the questions were *directly* posed to the Chief Judges by the Mudejars themselves. The text of the *fatwâ* does not reveal anything about the identity of the questioner(s). In fact we might wonder whether they were submitted by a Mudejar delegation to the Mamluk Sultan, who in turn consulted his Chief Judges. For why would Spanish Muslims, known for there unstinting adherence to the Malikite school of

13 *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 466; vol. 4, p. 7.

14 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 39 and 59.

15 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 470.

16 *Ibid.*, vol., 4, p. 126.

17 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 300 *supra*.

18 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 477.

19 *Nayl al-ibtihâj*, ed. by al-Harâma, Tripolis (Libya), 1989, no. 798.

law, also consult the Chief Judges of the other three *madhhabs*. This would be, as far as know, unprecedented in the history of Muslim Spain.

Relations had existed between Mudejars of the Spanish Kingdoms and Mamluk Egypt from at least the middle of the 15th century onwards. In 1480, for example, Mudejars of the Kingdom of Aragon had gone to Egypt and complained to the Mamluk Sultan about the destruction of minarets, and pleaded that the Sultan would pull down (Sp. *enderrocar*) certain Christian sanctuaries in Jerusalem in revenge.²⁰ But Mamluk Egypt did not find itself in a position to act against the powerful Spanish state. Quite the contrary, it benefited at times from Spain's support in its struggle against the Ottoman advance in the Mediterranean. In the 1480s the King of Aragon, Ferdinand, supported Qâ'it Bey, the Mamluk Sultan, against the advance of the Ottomans in Syria.²¹ He continued to do this until 1491, when the Mamluk Sultan allied with the Ottoman Sultan against the Spanish. After the forcible conversions in Granada at the end of the 1490s the Catholic Kings felt the need to defend their Granadan policy by sending Peter Martyr of Anghiera to Cairo in 1502.²² One of the arguments put forward by Peter was that the forcible conversions in Granada had only been a reaction to the rise of subjects against their legitimate king, and that his loyal Muslim vassals elsewhere in the Peninsula, Aragon and Valencia, continued to live peacefully and undisturbed. And again Spain's support played a role: Peter drew the Sultan's attention to the usefulness (or threat: it can explained in both ways)²³ of the Spanish armada, which was in Cantabria and might be able to come very soon, and which he could use to deter his enemies.²⁴ Peter's mission was probably successful. The Mamluks undertook no action against the Christians in their dominions, nor did they come to the aid of the Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula.

One of the documents which may have played a key role in triggering off Peter's embassy was a document which has hitherto been interpreted as a call for help by Granadan Muslims to the Ottoman Sultan. We are refer-

20 *Documentos sobre las relaciones internacionales de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. by A. de la Torre, Barcelona 1966-1969, 6 vols. vol. 1, pp. 75-76.

21 Meyerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-68, and the sources referred to by him.

22 L.P. Harvey: 'The Moriscos and their International Relations', in: *L'Expulsió dels moriscos. Conseqüències en el món islàmic i en el món cristià*, Barcelona 1994, pp. 135-139.

23 Cf. Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

24 Alonso de Santa Cruz: *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos (hasta ahora inédita)*. ed. J. de M. Cariazo. Sevilla 1951, 2 vols, vol 1, p. 272: "Y que el armada que ellos tenían en Calabria... avía de venir presto a su socorro. Lo qual podría aprovechar mucho para atemorizar a sus enemigos...".

ring to the *qaṣīda* found in al-Maqqarī's *Azhār al-Riyād*.²⁵ However, a hitherto unknown, somewhat shorter manuscript version of that very same *qaṣīda*²⁶ mentions as its addressee not the Ottoman but the Mamluk Sultan, who is addressed as the guardian of the Holy Places in Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina. This suggests that it is an earlier, probably more original version, so that we might have to assume that the *qaṣīda* was indeed first sent to the Mamluk Sultan, and perhaps only later to the Ottomans.²⁷ It may well be, as Harvey states, that "after failing to secure effective assistance in Egypt the Moriscos turned to Istanbul, and addressed themselves to the Sublime Port".²⁸

Be that as it may, it seems clear from our text that as late as ca. 1510, Mudejars still turned to Egypt for advice and help. The answer they received, according to the *fatwās* we are publishing here, can only be seen as "soothing" from a political point of view. According to the Chief Judges in question it was quite possible to be a good Muslim in Christian Spain, and hence there was no need for political action against the Spanish state. It is of course conceivable that our *fatwā* has no political dimension at all, and that we are simply dealing with questions posed by Muslims who were truly concerned about their religious life under Christian rule. But this would hardly explain the careful attention paid to these questions by all four Chief Judges of Cairo. It cannot therefore be excluded that at some stage the Mamluk State interfered. In that case, the implicit message of our *fatwās* is crystal-clear: no interference in Spain's policy towards its Muslim minority. And indeed, in about 1510 there was a very sound motive for such a policy: the need to secure Spain's assistance in the face of the common enemy: the Ottoman State, on the very eve of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt.

25 Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-riyād fī akhbār ʿIyād*, Cairo 1939-1944, 3 vols., vol. 1, pp. 108-115. See on this *qaṣīda* J. Monroe, 'A Curious Morisco Appeal to the Ottoman Empire', in: *Al-Andalus* 31(1966), pp. 281-303; See also his *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*. Berkeley & Los Angeles 1974, pp. 376-389.

26 MS in private possession in Morocco.

27 According to Al-Maqqarī, the *qaṣīda* was directed to Bayazid II, who reigned until 1512. This is remarkable, for the text explicitly states that the addressee was the guardian of the Holy Places in Jerusalem (*wa-dīn al-naṣārâ, aṣluhu tahta hukmikum*), which were only conquered by Bayazid's successor in 1516. The same phrase is already found, however, in the Moroccan manuscript, which also calls him the guardian of the Holy Rock (sc. in Jerusalem) at the very beginning. Here, it is certainly used correctly. The version quoted by al-Maqqarī is therefore either a clumsily enlarged version of a text indeed sent to Bayazid II, or al-Maqqarī was simply mistaken.

28 Harvey, *op. cit.*

Translation

Praise be to God! Text of a question and answers to it given by the most prominent scholars, who were consulted in matters related to the issuing of *fatwās* in Egypt:²⁹

What is the opinion of the honourable scholars, religious leaders and jurists of the Muslims, about God's rule:

(1) Concerning the Muslims [who live] in subjection³⁰ in the Lands of the Christians, who, when they want to emigrate to the Lands of Islam, are prevented by the Infidels from doing so, while forcing the Muslims who are caught on their way to emigrate to live as slaves among them and seizing their property. Is it permissible for the Muslim who intends to emigrate to expose himself to such a [danger]? Or is it conceded to him to postpone the emigration until he himself and his property are safe, so that he can emigrate? And is he ordered to emigrate when he [only] fears for his property, but not for his life? Or should he spend all his capital or a certain amount of it in order to emigrate? If you say that he is only obliged to spend so much of his property that his capital will not be ruined, explain to us then, please, which share is considered not to ruin [his capital if it is spent for that purpose]?

(2) What is the rule concerning someone of them who is obliged to perform the duty of the *ḥajj* and is able to do so on the condition that some other Muslim(s) go bail for his return to the Lands of the Christians: Should he perform the *ḥajj* and return, or stay behind in the Lands of Islam, although he would [under those conditions] endanger the personal freedom or the property of the person(s) going bail for him?

(3) Is it permitted for the religious scholars among them to postpone emigration, even though they would be able to leave, in order to preserve the religious doctrines of the Muslims who live in the Lands of the Christians, and to strengthen their religion, out of fear that their faith will decay and that, by their departure from them, ignorance will be predominant among them, because they³¹ are to be reckoned among those to whom it is not feasible to travel without difficulty?³² And is their legal integrity af-

29 The preceding lines were apparently added by the anonymous editor of the questions and the four *fatwās*.

30 Arabic: *al-mudajjanîn*, of which the Spanish word *Mudéjares* was derived, to denote the Muslims living under Christian rule in Spain.

31 Viz. the majority of the Muslims living in the lands of the Christians.

32 Like the sick and the weak who are exempted from the duty to emigrate, as will be explained below.

fect³³ by their staying [in Christian territory], although they are only staying [there] on behalf of a religious interest³⁴ which regards a large group of Muslims?

(4) What is the rule of the [religious] Law concerning a man who lived in the Lands of the Christians, emigrated on his own in fulfilment of God's order, without bringing his children with him, who then became worried about them and wanted to return to the Lands of the Christians in order to rescue his children: Is he entitled to do so or not, just as someone travelling to the Territory of War is allowed to redeem a captive?

(5) Is it permissible or not to express the Venerable Quran in non-Arabic³⁵ words in order that those who do not understand the Arabic language can understand it? If you hold the second opinion, is this then to be considered [merely] "reprehensible" or "prohibited"? And is it permitted for the preacher of a community whose members do not understand Arabic to give the Friday sermon in Arabic and then explain it in the non-Arabic language? Is there any distinction or not between [the preacher] who explains [his sermon] word by word [in non-Arabic] and the one who completes both of the sermons³⁶ [in Arabic] and then explains them in the non-Arabic language –doing all this from the pulpit? Please explain this to us in detail with as many elucidations and specifications as you can give. May God preserve you as enlightening lamps and may He take care of your [high] aspirations! And may God bless our Lord Muhammad and his family!

The Answer of the Mâlikite Imâm

All praise be to God! O God, inspire us with the truth!

(1) He is allowed to postpone emigration if he does not fear for his life and his property.³⁷ Nay, he is even ordered to postpone [it] in order not

33 I.e.: will they loose their ^c*adâla*, a prerequisite for anyone fulfilling a religious or juridical function in a legitimate way, like an imam, a judge or a professional legal witness.

34 Viz. to teach them, lead them in prayers and serve them as leaders in other religious matters.

35 *Bi-l-alfâz al-a^cjamiyya*, in non-Arabic words, viz. in one of the varieties of old Spanish.

36 The Friday prayers are preceded by two sermons which are pronounced by the preacher in an upright position while sitting down between them. Cf. A.J. Wensinck in *E.I.*² s.v. *khutba*.

37 Viz. when staying in the Lands of the Christians.

to ruin his property and fall himself into captivity, because that is not permitted. If he is afraid for his property, but not for his life, he is [also] permitted to postpone emigration, based on [the Prophet's] words –peace be with him–: “Whosoever is killed while disregarding his property, is a martyr”,³⁸ [a rule that only applies to a person who] is involved in battle and killed [consequently]. Therefore he has the right to postpone [the emigration].³⁹ He has the right to spend a third of his property for the purpose of emigrating. Because this is the part of which he can dispose freely as charity, or by testament or vow, not of more than that.

(2) The rule concerning the one who, under the circumstances mentioned [before], is obliged to perform the *hajj*, is that he should do so and come back [to the Lands of the Christians] so as not to cause harm to the person and property of others.

(3) For religious scholars [it is permissible] to postpone emigration in order to preserve the religious doctrines of the Muslims. Nay, they are even obliged to do so when they know that their faith⁴⁰ will fall into decay [if they leave]. [It should be taken into account, moreover,] that the legal integrity of someone who performs his duty, is not impaired [by his doing so].⁴¹

(4) The [indicated] man has the right to return to his children if he is afraid of their security, based on [the Prophet's] saying –peace be with him–: “A man already commits a sin by neglecting those whom he provides for”.⁴² Because if, by his leaving them, they will be hurt in their religion, property or person, he has neglected them.

(5) It is not permissible to recite the Quran in any language other than Arabic for the person who is able to do so, except for a pupil to a teacher⁴³ who perforce cannot do otherwise. The man who is able to speak Arabic [is] not [allowed to] give the sermon in another language, especially if we say that it [the sermon] is actually a substitution of two units [of the afternoon prayers].⁴⁴ The imâm who is able to recite [the Quran] in Arabic does not

38 This prophetic tradition is mentioned in all of the six “sound” collections: Al-Bukhârî, 2/108; Muslim, 1/125; Abû Dâwûd, 4/146; Al-Nasâ’î, 8/114; Ibn Hanbal, 2/163; Al-Tirmidhî, 4/28.

39 Because emigration is a case which differs from warfare.

40 Viz. of the Muslims depending on the religious guidance of the scholars.

41 In other words, if the religious scholars stay behind in the Lands of the Christians in order to give the necessary guidance to the Muslims, they are merely fulfilling their duty. Their integrity cannot be affected by their fulfilling their duty.

42 Cf. Abû Dâwûd, 2/132; Ibn Hanbal, 2/193.

43 The Arabic text reads *muta‘allim* (pupil) here, which probably should be read as *mu‘allim* (teacher).

44 The Friday *ṣalât* has two instead of four *rak‘as*, in order to make room for the ser-

recite it in another language to others. As for interpreting it in language other than Arabic, as a whole or little by little, that goes against the sanctioned custom of the Friday.

But God really knows the truth! Said and written by Yahyâ Muhyî al-Dîn al-Mâlikî.⁴⁵ May God forgive both him and his parents!

The Answer of the Ḥanbalīte Imâm

All praise be to God, who leads [us] to the truth!

(1) In relation to emigrating from the Territory of War, people are divided into three categories:

The first are those who are obliged [to do so], viz. those who are capable of [emigrating], who cannot manifest [their] religion,⁴⁶ or perform the obligations of their religion when they stay among the Infidels.⁴⁷ [In] this case, they are obliged to perform the emigration on the basis of the words of God the Almighty: “Verily unto those whom the angels carry off [in death], while they are yet oppressors of their souls, they will say: what were ye in?”, until the rest of the verse.⁴⁸ In it, there is a strong admonition indicating the obligatory nature [of the emigration]. [This is also the case,] because observing the religious duties is obligatory for those who are capable of doing so. The emigration is [in this case] a necessary prerequisite for the

mon. During prayers it is not allowed to recite the Quran in a language other than Arabic. According to the *mufîi*, this implies that the same rule should be applied to the sermon, as it substitutes a part of the *salât*.

45 The manuscript reads (erroneously): Muḥammad ibn al-Muhibb al-Mâlikî, cf. our introductory biographical remarks about this scholar.

46 Viz. who cannot openly profess Islam but are forced to do so in secret.

47 The scope of the duties aimed at here has been, and continues to be, a matter of discussion and divergent opinions among the religious scholars of Islam. Cf. P.S. van Koningsveld and G.A. Wiegiers, ‘The Islamic Statute’; W.A.R. Shadid and P.S. van Koningsveld, ‘Loyalty to a non-Muslim Government: an Analysis of Islamic Normative Discussions and of the Views of Some Contemporary Islamicists’, in: W.A.R. Shadid and P.S. van Koningsveld (eds.), *Political Participation and Identities of Muslims in non-Muslim States*, Kampen 1996, pp. 84-114.

48 The verse, Sûrat al-Nisâ’ (IV), 97, ends as follows: “They will say: weakened we were in the land [of our birth and dwelling and unable to resist the infidels, and also unable to observe the obligations of the faith]. They [= the angels] will say: was not Allah’s land wide so that ye could migrate thereto [for the proper observance of your faith]? These: their ressort is hell: an evil retreat!” (translation and exegesis of Daryabadi).

full [observance of the] religious obligations. Something without which the religiously obligatory cannot be fulfilled, is obligatory [as well].

The second [group] are those who are not obliged to emigrate viz. those who are unable to do so because of illness or [because of] being forced to stay [in the Lands of the Christians] or the like. [In] this case, no emigration should be inflicted upon them on the basis of the words of God the Almighty: "Excepting the weak ones",⁴⁹ until the end of the verse.

The third [group] are those who are recommended [to emigrate] but not obliged to do so, viz. those who are able to [emigrate] but can [at the same time] manifest their faith in the Territory of Infidelity. [In] this case, [emigration] is recommended to them because this enables them to wage war against them and to help their fellow-Muslims and increase their number. [In addition], it releases them from mixing [with] the Infidels, from increasing their number, and from observing reprehensible things among them. However, [the emigration] is not obligatory for them for they are able to practise the duties of their religion without it. ʿAbbâs, the uncle of the Prophet –may God bless him and grant him peace!– used to stay with them in Mecca notwithstanding his conversion to Islam.

[After the preceding survey it can be stated that] whosoever is obliged to emigrate due to his incapability to profess his faith openly, but [at the same time] is not able to do so except by losing such a part of his capital that he will be ruined by it, is discharged from his duty [to emigrate]. As for the exact amount of the money by the spending of which one is considered to ruin oneself, this is defined in accordance with the prevailing custom.

(2) As for the person who is unable to emigrate but has the possibility to perform the *hajj*: if the Infidels permit him to do so on the condition that he should return to them, he should do so and must return to them, if the person who obtained this permission is a man, not a woman.

(3) There is no blame on those who remain in the Lands of the Infidels while being able to profess their religion openly, to observe the rituals of Islam and to teach the religious duties to the captives and others who are staying among them.⁵⁰

49 Sûrat al-Nisâ' (IV), verses 98-99: "Excepting the weak ones among men, women and children, unable to find a stratagem and not guided to a way. These: belike Allah will pardon them, and Allah is ever Pardoning, Forgiving" (translation Darabadi).

50 The *muftî* sanctions the presence of religious scholars among the Muslim minorities of Christian Spain. His answer also reflects the historical reality of the existence of Muslim slaves and captives in Christian Spain alongside the regular communities of free Muslims living as *mudajjanîn* (Mudejars). Cf. P.S. van Koningsveld, *Muslim*

(4) If he emigrates without [bringing] his children and then becomes afraid of the trial [that could befall] them and therefore wants to return to release his children, while not exposing himself to trial or being killed, then it is permissible for him to return for that [purpose]. If not, it is not [allowed].

(5) Concerning the translation of the Quran into a non-Arabic language, that is forbidden. Because its unsurpassable literary qualities⁵¹ are based on [its] wordings and construction [in Arabic]. And this [specific quality]⁵² is lost when it is translated into a non-Arabic language. Concerning the Friday sermon, it is also imposed as a condition that it should be [given] in Arabic. Therefore, it is not permitted that the *khaṭīb* give the sermon in a non-Arabic language. To be sure, it is permissible to explain its meaning in a non-Arabic language (with the exception of Quranic citations) to attending non-Arabs, after he has completed the sermon in Arabic and then wants to explain its meaning, when the conditions of the Friday service cannot be fulfilled without their presence.⁵³

[But] God knows the truth best! Written by him who is in need of His blessing, Aḥmad Ibn Alī al-Ḥanbalī, servant of the Venerable and Purified Law in the two Noble Harams⁵⁴ and later in Egypt, while asking God's forgiveness, and invoking the blessing upon the Prophet.

The Answer of the Shāfi'ite Imām

All praise be to God! Oh God, guide me in controversial matters concerning the truth, with Your permission!

(1) To be sure, it is conceded to the person who is mentioned to postpone the indicated emigration until he finds a way to do so. The condition of the obligation to emigrate is that his person and property be safe. Al-Shāfi'ī –may God be pleased with him– said: 'In fact, the *Sunna* of the Prophet –may God bless him and grant him peace– indicates that the duty of emigration, imposed upon those who have the faculty to do so, only applies to the

Slaves and Captives in Western Europe during the Late Middle Ages. 'Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations', 1995, June issue (vol. 6, no. 1), pp. 5-23.

51 Reference to the theological doctrine of *ī'jâz al-Qur'ân*.

52 Viz. of the *ī'jâz al-Qur'ân*.

53 In view of the minimum number of adult male Muslims who should be present for a legitimate Friday service. This number varies according to the different *madhabs*.

54 Viz. Mecca and Medina. Before having been appointed in Cairo, the *mufti* had apparently been appointed in Arabia.

person who is lead astray from his religion in the country in which he converted to Islam'. End [of quotation].

(2) The person who is obliged to perform the *hajj* is allowed to go on *hajj* in the way mentioned and come back to the indicated country [of the Infidels].

(3) Scholars are allowed, indeed are obliged to stay in the indicated country because of the benefit derived [from their presence] for the Muslims [living] there. In [*Kitâb*] *al-Umm*⁵⁵ it is said: 'The Messenger of God – may God bless him and grant him peace! – permitted a group of people, among whom were Al-^cAbbâs Ibn ^cAbd al-Muttalib and others, to stay in Mecca after they had converted to Islam, if they were not afraid of being seduced.⁵⁶ [The Prophet] used to order his soldiers to say to those who had converted to Islam: If you emigrate you have the same rights and duties as the Emigrants, but if you remain [living in your own dwelling-places], you will have the same position as the Bedouin Muslims.⁵⁷ [Of course], he would only give them the choice between things that are lawful for them'. Ibn ^cAbd al-Barr narrated that Al-^cAbbâs used to write to the Messenger of God – may God bless him and grant him peace – about the news of the Polytheists. The Muslims in Mecca were strengthened by his [presence there]. He liked to join the Messenger of God – may God bless him and grant him peace –, but [the Prophet] wrote to him: Your staying in Mecca is better'. End [of quotation].

(4) [The man concerned] is allowed to come back for the sake of the children mentioned.

(5) It is not permitted to read [the Quran] in non-Arabic [because in that way] the unsurpassable literary quality intended by the Arabic text will be lost. If there is someone among the people who knows Arabic, he should give the sermon in it, not in another [language]. [In that case], it is sufficient for the others to know that he admonishes [them].⁵⁸ But if there is no one among them who knows [Arabic], one of them will give the sermon in his

55 By Al-Shâfi^c.

56 If they did not have to fear that the negative influence of their non-Muslim surroundings would make them betray their Islamic faith. The concept of *al-fina fi l-dîn* has remained a key-issue of the Islamic legal discussions concerning the position of Muslims living as a minority among non-Muslims.

57 Whose rights and duties were stipulated in the separate treaties concluded by Muhammad with each of the tribes concerned.

58 The Arabic manuscript is not clear. The obvious meaning of the text is that there is no harm in the fact that the members of the community do not understand the precise contents of the sermon in Arabic, as long as they realise that the preacher is admonishing them in a manner accepted by God.

own language, while [at the same time] one of them is obliged to learn [giving] it in Arabic. If the time in which one can learn this has gone by and no one of them has learnt to do so, all of them are sinning thereby. [Consequently,] they cannot perform the Friday service any more, but will have to perform it as an [ordinary] afternoon-prayer.⁵⁹

But only the Supreme God really knows the truth! Written by Muḥammad Ibn ʿAlī al-Qādirī al-Shāfiʿī. May the Supreme God forgive him, his parents and all the Muslims. May God bestow many blessings upon our Lord Muḥammad, his family and his Companions!

The Answer of the Ḥanafite Imām

All praise be to God!

(1) There is no [obligation] for him to do so. It is permitted for him to postpone [the emigration] and he is not ordered to emigrate if he is afraid for his property. Hence, neither he nor anyone else is ordered to spend [his property] for the [expenses of the] emigration in such a manner that his capital be ruined.

(2) Those indicated are allowed to go on *hajj* in the way mentioned. He should not postpone [the observance of this duty] by settling in the Lands of the Muslims.

(3) Scholars are entitled to postpone [the emigration] for the reason mentioned; perhaps [one can even say] that this would be their individual duty.⁶⁰ In any case, their legal integrity will not be affected by that.

(4) The person who fears for his children is entitled to come back to them for the purpose mentioned, and should not be forbidden to return.

(5) To explain the meaning of the Noble Quran in non-Arabic is permitted and does not fall into the [legal] category of 'reprehensibility'. The preacher is allowed to perform the actions mentioned, especially when he is unable to convey his message in Arabic.

But God really knows best! Written by ʿAbd al-Barr ibn al-Shihna⁶¹ al-Ḥanafī.

End

59 Because in this case the legal conditions of a Friday service are not fulfilled.

60 The *muftī* refers to the distinction between individual and collective duties (*furūd ʿayn* and *furūd kifāya*). In the former case, every single scholar has to remain among the Muslims in Christian Spain; in the latter case, it would be sufficient if a certain amount of them postponed their emigration while others left.

61 MS: Ishāq; cf. our correction of this name in the introductory part of this article.⁷⁸

الحمد لله!

نص سؤال وأجوبة عليه لعلماء الوقت ومن يشار اليهم بالفتوى بالديار المصرية، نصه: ماتقول السادة العلماء أئمة الدين وفقهاء المسلمين في حكم الله

(١) في المسلمين المدجّنين ببلاد النصارى، اذا ارادوا الهجرة لبلاد الإسلام، فمنعهم الكفار وجعلوا على من أخذ من المسلمين في طريق الهجرة أن يكون أسيرا عندهم، ويؤخذ ماله. فهل للمسلم المريد للهجرة أن يلقي بنفسه في ذلك، او يرخص له في التخلف عن الهجرة الى أن يأمن على نفسه وماله فيهاجر؟ وهل يؤمر بالهجرة اذا خاف على ماله دون نفسه، أو بأن ينفق في الهجرة جميع ماله، أو قدرا مخصوصا منه؟ وإن قلتم بأنه مكلف بما لا يجحف من ماله، فبينوا لنا ما قدر ما لا يجحف؟ (٢) وما الحكم فيمن وجب عليه فرض الحج منهم، واستطاعه على أن يضمه بعض أناس من المسلمين في الرجوع الى بلاد النصارى، هل يحج ويرجع، أو يتخلف ببلاد الإسلام، على أنه يترك من ضمنه في خطر من أسر، أو أخذ أموال؟

(٣) وهل يباح لأهل العلم منهم أن يتخلفوا عن الهجرة مع تمكنهم منها لحفظ عقائد المسلمين القاطنين ببلاد النصارى، وتثبيت دينهم، خوفا من أن تفسد عقائدهم، ويستولي الجهل عليهم بارتحالهم عنهم، اذ هم ممن لا يتأتى لهم الارتحال؟ وهل يجرحون بإقامتهم وهم إنما أقاموا لمصلحة دينية تصلح لجمع كثير من المسلمين؟

(٤) وما الحكم الشرعي في رجل كان ببلاد النصارى، فهاجر منفردا امثالاً لأمر الله، عن اولاده، ثم خاف عليهم فأراد الرجوع لبلاد النصارى لينقذ اولاده؟ فهل له ذلك أم لا، كما يباح لمن قصد بسفره لأرض الحرب افتكاك أسير؟

(٥) وهل يجوز التعبير عن القرآن العزيز بالألفاظ الأعجمية ليفهم من لم يفهم اللسان العربي ام لا؟ وان قلتم بالثاني، فهو مكروه أو محرم؟

وهل يجوز لخطيب جماعة لا يفقهون العربية، أن يخطب لهم يوم الجمعة بالعربية، ثم يفسر بالعجمية؟ وهل يفرق بين من يفسر كلمة كلمة، أو يخطب ويكمل الخطبتين ثم يفسرهما بالعجمية، كل ذلك على المنبر، أم لا؟
 بينوا لنا ذلك مأجورين، مع مزيد ما يمكنكم من البيان والتعيين! أبقاكم الله مصابيح ليستضاء بها وحفظ أرواحكم. وصلى الله على مولانا محمد وعلى آله.

جواب الإمام المالكي

الحمد لله! اللهم ألهمنا الصواب!

(١) له التخلف عن الهجرة إذا كان آمناً على نفسه وماله، بل يطلب منه التخلف لئلا يلقي بنفسه إلى إتلاف ماله وأسرته. وذلك لا يجوز. وله التخلف عن الهجرة إذا خاف على ماله دون نفسه، لقوله عليه السلام: {من قتل دون ماله فهو شهيد} فإذا كان له المقاتلة ولو قتل فله التخلف. وله أن ينفق ثلث ماله في الهجرة، لأن له التصديق والتبرع والنذر به لا بأكثر من ذلك.

(٢) والحكم فيمن وجب عليه الحج على الصفة المذكورة أن يحج ويرجع حتى لا يكون متسبباً لإيذاء غيره في نفسه وماله.

(٣) ولأهل العلم التخلف عن الهجرة لحفظ عقائد المسلمين، بل يجب إذا علموا أن عقائدهم تفسد ومن فعل الواجب عليه لا يجرح.

(٤) وللرجل الرجوع لأولاده إذا خاف عليهم، لقوله عليه السلام: {كفى بالمرء اثماً أن يضيّع من يمون} لأنه إذا لحقهم بتركه إياهم ضرر في دينهم أو مالهم أو أنفسهم، فقد ضيّعهم.

(٥) ولا تجوز قراءة القرآن بغير العربية للقادر عليها إلا من متعلم لمتعلم لا يمكنه غير ذلك القدر اللازم. ولا يخطب القادر على العربية

بغيرها، خصوصاً إن قلنا: انها بدل عن ركعتين. والإمام القادر على العربي لا يقرأ بغيرها لغيره، وأما تفسيرها بغير العربية، جملة واحدة أو شيئاً فشيئاً، فذلك مخرج لها عن سنة الجمعة.

والله اعلم بالصواب! قاله وكتبه محمد بن المحب المالكي غفر الله له ولوالديه أجمعين.

جواب الإمام الحنبلي

الحمد لله الهادي للصواب!

(١) أما الهجرة من دار الحرب فالناس فيها على ثلاثة أضرب. أحدها: من تجب عليه، وهو القادر عليها، الذي لا يمكنه إظهار دينه، أو لا تمكنه إقامة واجبات دينه مع المقام بين الكفار، فهذا تجب عليه الهجرة، لقوله تعالى: {ان الذين توفاهم الملائكة ظالمي أنفسهم قالوا فيما كنتم} الآية، وفيها وعيد شديد يدل على الوجوب، ولأن القيام بواجب دينه واجب على من قدر عليه، والهجرة من ضرورة الواجب وتتمته، وما لا يتم الواجب إلا به فهو واجب.

الثاني: من لا هجرة عليه، وهو العاجز عنها لمرض أو إكراه على الإقامة أو غير ذلك، فهذا لا هجرة عليه، لقوله تعالى: {الا المستضعفين} الآية .

الثالث: من تستحب له ولا تجب عليه. وهو القادر عليها، مع تمكنه من إظهار دينه في دار الكفر. فهذا يستحب له ليتمكن من جهادهم، ومن معونة المسلمين وكثرة عددهم، وليتخلص من مخالطة الكفار وتكثير عددهم ورؤية المنكر بينهم. ولا يجب عليه لتتمكنه من إقامة واجب دينه بدون الهجرة. وقد كان العباس عم النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم معهم

مقيما بمكة مع اسلامه.

فمن وجبت عليه الهجرة لعدم قدرته على اظهار دينه، لكنه لا يقدر عليها الا بذهاب بعض ماله وكان ذلك مجحفا به، سقطت عنه، وحد الإحجاف يرجع فيه الى العادة والعرف.

(٢) ومن أمكنه الحج ممن هو عاجز عن الهجرة، فإن أذن له الكفار في ذلك بشرط العود اليهم، لزمه ذلك. ويلزمه الرجوع اليهم ان كان المأذون له رجلا لا امرأة.

(٣) ولا تجريح ولا قدح فيمن أقام ببلاد الكفار مع إقامة اظهار دينه والقيام شعائر الاسلام وتعليمهم فروض الدين لمن كان مقيما عندهم من الاسارى وغيرهم.

(٤) وان هاجر دون أولاده، ثم خشي الفتنة عليهم، فأراد الرجوع لتخليص أولاده، وأمن على نفسه الفتنة والقتل، جاز له الرجوع لذلك، والا فلا.

(٥) وأما ترجمة القرآن باللغة العجمية فحرام، لأن إعجازه باللفظ والنظم. وهذا يفوت عند الترجمة عنه بغير العربية، وأما خطبة الجمعة فيشترط فيها ايضا أن تكون بالعربية، فلو خطب بالعجمية لم يجز، نعم إن أكمل الخطبة بالعربية ثم أراد أن يفسر معناها لمن حضره من العجم، وكانت الجمعة لاتتم الابهام، ففسر معناها لهم بالعجمية فيما عدا القرآن، جاز.

والله اعلم بالصواب! وكتب فقير نعمه احمد بن علي الحنبلي خادم الشرع العزيز المطهر بالحرمين الشريفيين، ثم بالديار المصرية، مستغفرا مصليا مسلما.

جواب الإمام الشافعي

الحمد لله! اللهم اهدني لما اختلف فيه من الحق باذنك!

(١) نعم يرخص للمذكوري في التخلف عن الهجرة المذكورة الى أن يجد الى ذلك سبيلا. وشرط وجوب الهجرة الأمن على النفس والمال. قال الشافعي رضى الله تعالى عنه: "وقد دلت سنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم على ان فرض الهجرة على من أطاقها، انما هو على من فتن عن دينه بالبلد التي يسلم بها" انتهى.

(٢) ويجوز لمن وجب عليه الحج أن يحج على الصفة المذكورة، ويرجع الى البلاد المذكورة.

(٣) ويباح لأهل العلم، بل يطلب منهم الإقامة في البلاد المذكورة، لحصول النفع لمن هنالك من المسلمين. وفي (الأم): "إن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أذن لقوم بمكة أن يقيموا بها بعد إسلام، منهم العباس بن عبد المطلب وغيره اذا لم يخافوا الفتنة. وكان يأمر جيوشه أن يقولوا لمن أسلم: إن هاجرتم فلکم ما للمهاجرين، وان قمتم فأنتم كأعراب المسلمين. وليس يخيرهم الا فيما يحل لهم. وحكى ابن عبد البر أن العباس كان يكتب الى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم باخبار المشركين. وكان المسلمون بمكة يتقوون به، وكان يحب ان يقدم على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. فكتب اليه: إن مقامك بمكة خير" انتهى.

(٤) ويباح الرجوع لأجل الأولاد المذكورين.

(٥) ولا تجوز القراءة بغير العربية لفوات الإعجاز المقصود من النظم العربي. واذا كان في القوم من يحسن العربية، خطب بها لا غيرها. ويكفي علم الباقيين بأنه < يذكر >، وان لم يكن فيهم من يحسنها: خطب احدهم بلسانه ووجب على واحد منهم أن يتعلمها بالعربية، فإن مضت مدة امكان التعلم ولم يتعلمها احد منهم عصوا كلهم بذلك ولا جمعة لهم، بل يصلونها ظهرا.

والله تعالى اعلم بالصواب! وكتب ذلك: محمد بن علي القادري الشافعي. غفر الله تعالى له ولوالديه، وسامحه والمسلمين أجمعين، وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم تسليما كثيرا!

جواب الإمام الحنفي

الحمد لله!

- (١) ليس له ذلك. ويجوز له التخلف، ولا يؤمر بالهجرة مع الخوف على ماله، وح <ينئذ> فلا يؤمر بالإنفاق في الهجرة مجحفا ولا غيره.
 - (٢) ويجوز الحج لمن ذكر على الوجه المذكور، ولا يؤخر عنه باستيطان بلاد المسلمين.
 - (٣) ولأهل العلم التخلف لما ذكر، وربما يتعين ولا يجرحون بذلك.
 - (٤) وللخائف المذكور على أولاده الرجوع اليهم كما ذكر، ولا ينهى عن الرجوع.
 - (٥) وتفهيم معنى القرآن الشريف بلغة غير العربية جائز من غير كراهة. ويجوز للخطيب ما ذكر سيما عند العجز عن العربية، وتحصيل المقصود بها.
- والله اعلم! وكتبه عبد البر بن اسحاق الحنفي.

انتهى

PARTICIPANTS

Geert Jan van Gelder. University of Groningen. Department of Languages and Cultures of the Middle East (TCMO). P.O. Box 716. 9700 AS Groningen. The Netherlands. Tel

Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld. Leiden University. Faculty of Theology. Department for the History of Religions. P.O.Box 9515. 2300 RA Leiden. The Netherlands. Tel. +31-71-5272586. Fax: +31-71-5226588.

Fernando R. Mediano. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto de Filología. C./Duque de Medinaceli 6. 28014 Madrid. Spain. Tel: 0034-1-4290526. Fax: 0034-1-3690940.

Ed de Moor. University of Nijmegen. Department of Languages and Cultures of the Middle East (TCMO). P. O. Box 9103. 6500 HD Nijmegen. The Netherlands. Tel. +31-24-3612891. Fax: +31-24-3615939.

Ahmed Sabir. Université Ibnou Zohr. Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines. Cité Dakhla. B.P. 29/S. Agadir. Morocco. Tel: 00212-8-220558. Fax: 00212-8-221620

Arie Schippers. Universiteit van Amsterdam. Vakgroep Arabische en Islamitische Studiën. Instituut voor het Moderne Nabije Oosten. Oude Turfmarkt 129. 1012 GC Amsterdam. The Netherlands. Tel. +31-20-5253062. Fax: +31-20-5254681.

Gerard Wiegers. Leiden University. Faculty of Theology. Department for the History of Religions. P.O.Box 9515. 2300 RA Leiden. The Netherlands. Tel. +31-71-5272630. Fax: +31-71-5226588.

Th. Marita Wijntjes. Kuiperlaan 68. 1412 EX Naarden. The Netherlands. Tel. +31-35-6944981.

Otto Zwartjes. University of Nijmegen. Department of Languages and Cultures of the Middle East (TCMO)/ Department of Spanish. P. O. Box 9103. 6500 HD Nijmegen. The Netherlands. Tel. +31-24-3615778. Fax: +31-24-3615939.

EXPERIMENTAL VISUAL CONCRETE

Avant-Garde Poetry Since the 1960s

Ed. by K. David Jackson, Eric Vos, Johanna Drucker
Amsterdam/Atlanta, GA 1996. 442 pp.
(Avant-Garde Critical Studies 10)

ISBN: 90-5183-959-6

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This book addresses the major critical and interpretive issues of contemporary experimental poetic texts.

Critical approaches, historical contexts, and basic concepts are surveyed in two introductory essays, while the study of poetic movements in historical context and the chronological trajectory of production of experimental texts are discussed in the first major segment of the volume, "Experimentation in Its Historical Moment." The principal topic addressed here is the nature of experimental poetry in revolutionary social contexts.

The second major theme, focused upon in the section "Experimentation in the Language Arts," is that of language as a vehicle for experiments and cognitive quests, aimed not at the production of truth or social emancipation but at experiential aspects of language and language use. Haroldo de Campos's fragmented poetic prose work *Galàxias* is a highlighted topic of attention, as are poetic and language experiments in Lettrism, Fluxus, sound poetry, and new technological poetics.

The development of the basic tenets of Concrete poetry and current critical perspectives on its status in poetical experimentation constitute the basis of the third section of the book, "Concrete and Neo-Concrete Poetry." The relationship of historical Concrete poetry to artistic genres is presented, with special emphasis on Brazil and on contemporary visual writing. The section "Memoirs of Concrete," in the context of oral history, includes retrospective accounts by two of Concrete poetry's most renowned editors.

The closing section of this book presents statements on the theory and practice of avant-garde poetry by 22 participants in the "Yale Symposium on Contemporary Poetics and Concretism."

USA/Canada: Editions Rodopi B.V., 2015 South Park Place, Atlanta, GA 30339, Tel. (770) 933-0027, *Call toll-free* (U.S. only) 1-800-225- 3998, Fax (770) 933-9644, *E-mail:* F.van.der.Zee@rodopi.nl

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GENDER, I-DEOLOGY

Essays on theory, fiction and film

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ANTONIO PÉREZ-ROMERO

Subversion and Liberation in the Writings of St. Teresa of Avila

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(Portada Hispanica 2)

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Contents: Introduction. CHAPTER 1 St. Teresa of Avila and Spanish Castizo Ideology. CHAPTER 2 St. Teresa and the New Spirituality. CHAPTER 3 St. Teresa and her Scholars. CHAPTER 4 St. Teresa's Life: The Chronicle of the Mystical Voyage to her Liberation. CHAPTER 5 The Bypassing of Asceticism: The Way of Perfection and the Meditation on the Song of Songs. CHAPTER 6 The Mansions: St. Teresa's Journey to the Center of the Soul. CHAPTER 7 St. Teresa and the Dignification and Empowerment of Women. CHAPTER 8 St. Teresa's Defense of her Way or Prayer. CHAPTER 9. St. Teresa's and her Sixteenth-Century Accusers. Conclusion. Bibliography.

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WRITING THE NATION SELF AND COUNTRY IN THE POST-COLONIAL IMAGINATION

Ed. by John C. Hawley

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The fourteen essays in this volume contribute significantly to a consideration of the interplay between nation and narration that currently dominates both literary and cultural studies. With the fervent reassertion of tribal domains throughout the world, and with the consequent threat to the stability of a common discourse in putative countries once mapped and subsequently dominated by colonizing powers, the need for such studies becomes increasingly obvious. Whose idea of a nation is to prevail throughout these "postcolonial" territories; whose claims to speak for a people are to be legitimized by international agreement; amid the demands of patriotic rhetoric, what role may be allowed for individual expression that attempts to transcend the immediate political agenda; who may assume positions of authority in defining an ethnic paradigm — such are the questions variously addressed in this volume.

The essayists who here contribute to the discussion are students of the various national literatures that are now becoming more generally available in the West. The range of topics is broad — moving globally from the Caribbean and South America, through the African continent, and on to the Indian subcontinent, and moving temporally through the nineteenth century and into the closing days of our twentieth. We deal with poetry, fiction, and theoretical writings, and have two types of reader in mind: We hope to introduce the uninitiated to the breadth of this expanding field, and we hope to aid those with a specialized knowledge of one or other of these literatures in their consideration of the extent to which post-colonial writing may or may not form a reasonably unified field. We seek to avoid the new form of colonialism that might impose a theoretical template to these quite divergent writings, falsely rendering it all accessible and familiar. At the same time, we do note questions and concerns that cross borders, whether these imagined lines are spatial, temporal, gendered or racial.

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IMPOSSIBILITY FICTION

Alternativity — Extrapolation — Speculation

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Impossibility fiction is an 'intergenre' that has recently been the resort of many writers searching for new ways of understanding and expressing the real world of the imagination, making use of fantasy, alternative history and science fiction. Coping with ideas that are both impossible and realistically constructed is the ultimate contemporary challenge of our technology. The chapters of this book move towards establishing appropriate readings that allow contemporary readers to negotiate unreality, a skill that the end of the millennium is making inevitably necessary. Such strategies have long been the preserve of literary and cultural study, and here a number of well-regarded scholars and some new to the field make their contribution to an area that has become increasingly important in recent years. From Mary Shelley to Philip K. Dick, Iain M. Banks to J.G. Ballard, taking in African-American science fiction, *Jurassic Park*, and Kurt Vonnegut, and exploring issues of alternative history and ideology, feminism, the holocaust, characterisation, and impossible geography, this collection is an important source-book for all those interested in the literature, culture and philosophy of realistic impossible worlds.

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INSTITUTIONS IN CULTURES THEORY AND PRACTICE

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